

**COUNSELLING
FOR
MARITAL HAPPINESS**

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by

MABEL FONSECA



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To
The Memory
of my
Dear Parents

P R E F A C E

IT IS SAID, "the proper study of mankind is man". Although this can be appreciated, the truth of the statement is not totally borne out by actual facts. For the makings of man are too deep and intertwined to fathom. He will always remain an enigma. Empirical data will reveal only a part of man, and will only give us impressions of his unhappiness as revealed externally, and that too at times very vaguely. Even so, if one can bring into his life a ray of hope and give him a glimpse of happiness in his distress, one shall have achieved much.

Having had the privilege during the last six years of working as the Honorary Secretary of the Family Counselling Bureau of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (Maharashtra State Branch) and as a volunteer and subsequently as a member of the Bapnu Ghar Committee for the last four years, my association with these and other institutions, has given me a singular opportunity of observing closely the hardships and difficulties which the family has to reckon with from day to day making it increasingly difficult for the family to bear the present stress and strain; more so, considering that morally, socially and economically the burden falls particularly on the woman. The ever-increasing intake of women into social welfare institutions has led to this inquiry and has provided inspiration for the present study, and as a result thereof, for suggesting such treatment, curative or preventive, as may be of service to fellow-beings. Working in collaboration with clients who have sought help has been responsible for the conclusions and suggestions herein contained and a workable theory has resulted therefrom, namely, that of counselling with action and co-ordination in pre-marital and post-marital spheres.

It is here that I was fortunate in having Dr G. S. Ghurye, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, University of Bombay, as my guide; and the significance of the role played by him in the lives of student aspirants in search of truth came upon me with all its impact. For it was Dr Ghurye, my revered Guru, who kindled the spark that ultimately resulted in this work. From the little that he heard from me of the work being done by the agencies, his keen and penetrating mind saw rich soil in a raw state, but ample for the sociologist to work on it earnestly. In the process of sifting the material at hand, much would be revealed of the problems, if not the whole truth, and would lead to the ways and means for their solution. Dr G. S. Ghurye was the only sociologist some 27 years back, that is, in 1937, to see years ahead and to publish in his monograph *Sociology and Social Work*, the need for counselling services in India of the future. This work I hope will give him the satisfaction of knowing that his is not 'a voice in the wilderness', and that his call has found an echo. The data here lays the ground for more intense research in this area. Intensity of correlations and causation and case-history have been omitted and not without purpose. If there are some drawbacks, it is due to certain limitations and handicaps which one encounters in a new field. The records available do not furnish complete data to go intensively into the subject, and thus our data only states certain facts. The data is a basis for a new and developing 'art-cum-science', nay, 'a skill' where much needs to be done.

Tentative suggestions as arising out of the study of our data are made which, as counselling grows from day to day in strength, might open before us new vistas and visions of personal therapy. Preventive medicine is always salutary and hence counselling, in order to be effective, must not only be curative, but even more, preventive. This work has therefore also touched upon attitudes and opinions of youth on questions pertaining to marriage and family so that it helps in drawing up a prevention programme for youth.

Whatever counselling may be claimed to be, either a 'socio-psychic' study or otherwise, one thing is evident in this country, namely, that the problems confronted are largely 'social and sociological' and have been studied as such. This should not, however, be mistaken to mean that only the sociologist has to be given priority to this field, or, for that matter, to any specialist or pro-

fessional person. It is sincerely felt that it is the counsellor as an individual who prevails over all the arts and sciences. To start with, he must be aided by the sciences, but it is his innate capacity and skill in understanding human beings that in the ultimate analysis will play a significant part and help him to contribute in good measure to the well-being of those who require his assistance and guidance.

This task, as I look back, has been a rich experience. It has been all the more so, because of the various individuals who have contributed in helping me complete the task. To them I wish to express my sincere and heartfelt gratitude.

My indebtedness and gratitude to Dr Ghurye knows no bounds. Working under him is an education of a lifetime and an enriching of one's personality. His guidance and constant encouragement were to me a source of perennial strength, and his scholarship and erudition, an unfailing inspiration, so that even when I despaired, and which was often, I did not retract. To him, therefore, I owe the completion of this work. My only wish is that he will live to see Counselling in India achieve its purpose and goal.

My thanks are due to all the respondents to the questionnaire and the couples with whom I had occasion to work, who have enabled me to come to such conclusions as are here found, looking to the practical aspect of counselling.

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For introducing me into a new realm of social welfare and for giving me full co-operation in and liberty to handle marriage and family counselling cases, I owe my gratitude to Mrs Wahabuddin Ahmed, the then President of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (Maharashtra State Branch), and the then Chairman of the

Family Counselling Bureau and to Dr (Mrs) Camilla daCosta, the then Honorary General Secretary of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, and now its Vice-President.

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I am greatly obliged to Mrs Zeela Lobo for her unremitting labour and untiring efforts in getting the drafts of my manuscript ready in time.

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CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>Introduction</i>	3

Part One

MARRIAGE UNDER TRIAL

	MARRIAGE UNDER TRIAL	29
I	A SAMPLE OF DISORGANIZED UNITS	33
II	THE DEMON OF DISHARMONY	58
III	DISCORD, DISORGANIZATION AND DESERTION	77

Part Two

MARRIAGE ON THE HORIZON

	MARRIAGE ON THE HORIZON	101
IV	THE RESPONDENTS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE	106
V	AT THE THRESHOLD OF MARRIAGE	136
VI	THE NEW LOOK AND THE OUTLOOK	156

Part Three

MARRIAGE FOR HAPPINESS

	MARRIAGE FOR HAPPINESS	179
VII	THE REALM OF PRE-MARITAL—"THE INTEGRAL MAN" .. .	182
VIII	POST-MARITAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE FAMILY	195

IX	COUNSELLING	..	..	..	..	..	..	206
	EPILOGUE	..	..	..	..	..	..	243
	<i>Appendices</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	249
	<i>Bibliography</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	271
	<i>Index</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	287

IN GRATITUDE TO

Dr G. S. Ghurye. Professor Emeritus of Sociology, the doyen
of Indian Sociologists who has rendered memorable service to
learning and scholarship and whose dedication to Sociology
has commanded universal respect and admiration and
whose enlightened guidance and wise counsel
has brought this work to fruition. To him
I pay my most humble tribute in the
completion of this work.

**COUNSELLING
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While life in its merely biological aspects is a miracle and a secret, man in his human aspects is an unfathomable secret to himself—and to his fellow man. We know ourselves and yet even with all the efforts we may make, we do not know ourselves. We know our fellow man, and yet we do not know him, because we are not a thing, and our fellow man is not a thing. The further we reach into the depth of our being, or someone else's being, the more the goal of knowledge eludes us. Yet we cannot help desiring to penetrate into the secret of man's soul, into the innermost nucleus which is 'he'.

—ERIC FROMM, *The Art of Loving*

INTRODUCTION

HERBERT SPENCER pointed out, in his early essay on 'The Genesis of Science', "that science arose out of art, and that even yet the distinction is 'purely conventional'," for "it is impossible to say when art ends and science begins".¹ This is true of Sociology and its ancillary sciences. It is sciences of this nature that are being constantly challenged. It is a challenge which has to be met with by Sociology, apart from its purely intellectual content, by relating itself to social utility. Social sciences are characterized more by their functional goal than by their role as sciences *simpliciter*, a virtue of most natural and physical sciences. Social policies, social planning and social work are the constructive media of social utility proceeding on principles which govern the activities of individuals and groups so far as they affect the life and the welfare of these individuals and groups. Such principles must be based on sound and rational criteria from which all constructive agents tend to flow. It is in this context that a social science like Sociology must be viewed and it is in this climate that the ameliorative tradition of Sociology becomes of kindred character. The question then arises, in what respect and to what extent does Sociology help in the making of social policies and their implementation and in the furtherance of social work, either generally or in specified fields.

Considered in this background, Sociology's role in India, with its many complex situations arising out of custom, usage, tradition and its social and religious antecedents, becomes evident. We are confronted with the conflict of traditional, orthodox and conservative forces on the one hand and contemporary, progressive and evolutionary forces on the other. Due to the impact of various

¹ Havelock Ellis, *The Dance of Life* (New York: The Modern Library, 1951), p. 64.

cultures on India and on one another and of the external forces which run counter to established tradition, there lurks a constant threat to the traditional pattern of living which is likely to be sharply disrupted. The range of Sociological studies today has widened with the growing complexity of the social structure and no problem is anathema which has social relevancy. Such studies which are pragmatic in nature are capable of not only assisting social work but also in influencing policy decisions of social planners and social workers.

Social work whose objective is social welfare is thus benefited to the extent that the concept of social welfare presupposes a knowledge of the social problems prevalent in a society. Sociological studies are not divorced from reality and therefore social problems and their ultimate solutions become accessories to Sociology. By a social problem is meant a condition or process of society which may be said to be unfortunate or even undesirable. Any such situation calls for correctional methods. Social welfare has a curative aspect and the ameliorative or preventive aspect. Social welfare tends to bring about the well-being of individuals and contends against forces which impinge on that well-being. Consequently, it is drawn into an area which involves simultaneously fact-finding as well as bringing about effective solutions to the problems with which it is confronted, thus making individual well-being consistent with social welfare. Political theorists have conceived of the ideal relation between the individual and the state as the proper correlation of rights and duties. Sociologists see as one of the ways of inducting into the social environment the right spirit, is by the proper correlation of individual well-being and social welfare. The groundwork of social welfare and social work is, therefore, the *sine qua non* of Sociology.

Every country has its social problems and social problems differ from society to society although there may be problems which are common to all. It behoves a social worker to be well-versed in the Sociology and literature of his country besides the study of general Sociology which he undertakes. He must needs make an appraisal of the local situation in terms of its problems and in the light of the knowledge he possesses. For example, in India there exist problems of caste in all its ramifications, endogamy (which is a peculiar feature arising out of the caste system), prohibition of widow remarriage and its repercussions, joint family and the ten-

sions, stresses and strains with which it is traditionally associated, the beggar problem and a variety of other problems. We have also to reckon with the fatalistic attitude to life which make one's outlook passivist instead of being activist and progressive. All these and many more problems have been analytically studied,² yet, practically speaking, they merit repeated scrutiny and call for an intelligent and scientific application of mind for their proper solutions.

The directive principles in the Constitution of India enjoin on the state to secure social order for the promotion of the welfare of the people with a view to initiate the 'Welfare State', "the functions of which should, within the bounds of the Constitution and subject to its limitations, be commensurate with the public welfare".³ Here again, there is offered to the social worker a noble cause which must be nobly planned.⁴

Today Sociology in its efforts to analyse the organic whole of the

² G. S. Ghurye, *Caste, Class and Occupation* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1961). In this book the author has dealt at length with caste. Varied approaches, evaluatory, attitudinal and newer perspectives in caste are being studied. See K. M. Kapadia, 'Caste in Transition', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. XI, March-September 1962, pp. 70-90; B. Kuppaswamy, 'A Statistical Study of Attitudes of the Caste System in South India', *Journal of Psychology*, 1954; C. T. Kannan, *Inter-Caste and Inter-Community Marriages in India*, 1963 and A. A. Khatri, 'Social Change in the Caste Hindu Family and Its Possible Impact on Personality and Mental Health', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. XI, March-September 1962. Many recent Sociologists, are studying other aspects such as mobility patterns within caste, behaviour of caste in a crisis situation, etc. See *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. XI, March-September 1962. Studies in joint family and problems associated with it are widely discussed. Among them are K. M. Kapadia's, *Marriage and Family in India* (Oxford University Press, 1959); I. P. Desai's 'Symposium on Caste and Joint Family', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1955 and 'The Joint Family in India—An Analysis', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1956. Social problems such as the beggar problem, are dealt with by J. N. Kumarappa in *Our Beggar Problem*. For studies in (1) Delinquency, See Hansa Sheth, *Juvenile Delinquency in an Indian Setting* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1961), and (2) Prostitution, Punekar and Kamala Rao, *Study of Prostitutes in Bombay* (Bombay: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1962), schools of social work are giving increasing attention to studies on Child and Parent Welfare, Community Welfare, etc.

³ *All India Reporter*, 1952, Orissa, 42 at p. 47 (Lokenath v/s State of Orissa).

⁴ According to the preamble to the Constitution, the Indian Republic has to secure to its citizens JUSTICE, social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

social fabric, has brought together all the threads that go to make an integrated texture of social tendencies, situations and patterns and is constantly striving to make the picture as complete as possible and to reflect in it the shades and nuances of the social milieu. In this endeavour, social ills like poverty, delinquency, and family maladjustments, to mention only a few, whose roots have spread widely in our society, have come for special treatment and provide an interesting facet of sociological study. Similarly, the behaviour of people under varying conditions of life covering pathological, aberrative, or maladjusted behaviour patterns are also material for sociological study; one aspect of the latter being marriage and family maladjustment, which will be dealt with in more detail.

Problems sprout up in every society and at all times. With the challenge to accepted values, the problems are on the increase. In this regard, Sociology renders a service that is both important and salutary. Important to the extent that the approach of Sociology is in terms of social reality, and salutary in the sense that it actively tries to bring about a conducive arrangement and to implement changes when they become necessary. Individuals experience problems arising (a) from within themselves, e.g., in illness, emotional conflicts, and antagonist purposes, (b) in the world outside, e.g., in insecurity and uncertainty, (c) in relation to others, and (d) in the failures or inadequacies of specific culture traits, cultural values, etc. Thus in scientific observation and analysis, problem-solving has a practical objective, that is, to consider whether to maintain the *status quo*, or to accept or initiate change, or to adjust or readjust in terms of the 'situation'.

Studies in the field of marriage and family in India have been widely discussed as an institution and as kinship organization, in addition to anthropological description of marriage customs, forms of family organization, etc.⁵ But studies in the field of interpersonal relationships in the family and interaction between husband and wife are lacking. Increased complexities in the present social

⁵ See G. S. Ghurye, *Family and Kin* (1962); K. M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India* (1959); K. M. Kapadia, *Hindu Kinship* (1947); P. N. Prabhu, *Hindu Social Organization* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1954); I. Karve, 'Kinship Organization in India', *Deccan College Monograph Series*, No. XI (Poona, 1953); M. S. A. Rao, *Social Change In Malabar* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1959); K. R. Unni, 'Polyandry in Malabar', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. VII, March-September 1958, Nos. 1 and 2.

setting emphasize family relationships as a challenging pattern and bring into play new forces which invite intensive research.

Many problems of Indian family life which we find today originated in the traditional way of life. Patterns which were once well adapted to the type of society known in the past have changed so as to have become more urbanized. For instance, the family of procreation and the family of orientation tend to differ. The nature and outlook of the family have also changed with the effect of various external forces as also due to the new social status and the economic independence which women now enjoy. The tasks which woman today has taken upon herself and the occupations in which she engages herself cannot be ignored, and we perceive have to envisage the role of the 'economic woman' which has acquired a new dimension. The reorientation of a woman's role, her aspirations and outlook has led inevitably to changing ideas about marriage and family. We have now come to realize, without apparent effort, the reconciliation of the modern woman's goal with the present socio-economic system.

Such changes as we see in the nature of the family as a result of the place which a woman has come to occupy in it, and in the family's evolution, such as it is, has brought about maladjustments and frustrations which women experience in the transitional phase and has been a rude awakening to those "who believe that the traditional functions of the family are its only real function".⁶ Those who regard the changes as improvements do not consider the family as a functional unit which is in itself important, but they are apt to consider the more important question of the pursuit of happiness and individual fulfilment. The shifting emphasis from family to the individual has witnessed a new consciousness which has made itself felt sufficiently enough to receive social recognition.

The growth of modern cities has meant the development of a way of life much different from its rural counterpart. India at the moment is being fast urbanized and there is the rapid growth of the cities and their populations. Bombay in particular is one of the largest cities with an area of 169 square miles, ranking second in population. It is the city in respect of which statistical data, relative to the problems dealt with, are scanned, examined and

⁶ Carle C. Zimmerman, *Family and Civilization* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), quoted by M. B. Clinard, *Sociology of Deviant Behaviour* (New York: Rinehart & Co. Inc., 1957), p. 393.

commented upon. Its population according to the 1961 Census⁷ stands at 4,152,056. The population of Bombay city has increased by 338 per cent in the last 50 years, the most phenomenal growth being in the decade 1941-1951 from about 17 lakhs to more than 28 lakhs. The average rate of growth in the population of Bombay city has been about 4.7 per cent per annum, which is more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the average annual increase of population for the whole country. The 1961 Census indicates that the tempo in the increase of populations in larger industrial and commercial cities has not abated.⁸ Urbanism, then, which has set in as a way of life, has ushered in social change with extensive conflicts of norms; mobility of the population; emphasis on material good and individualism; and a marked decline in intimate communication.⁹ It has had its impact on nearly all phases and aspects of our life and the family as a social institution has become vulnerable.

Urbanization with its mobility, impersonality, materialism, norm and role conflicts, and rapid social change, appears to increase the incidence of deviant behaviour.¹⁰ New role expectations arise with the change in the social set-up. Many present expectations reflect a past society, where the roles of husband and wife are fixed by tradition. This way of life has largely passed, but many of the role expectations linger. A changing society makes it difficult for people to play roles that evolved in a comparatively static society. This perhaps is one of the reasons for the malaise in modern marriage which is becoming increasingly evident.

Park describes the city as a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, as a product of human nature. He further states that "the city shows the good and evil in human nature to excess. It is this fact, perhaps more than any other, which justifies the view that would make of the city a laboratory or clinic in which human nature and social processes may be conveniently and profitably studied."¹¹

⁷ *Census of India—Final Population Totals* (Paper No. 1 of 1962), p. 32.

⁸ J. F. Bulsara, *Problems of Rapid Urbanization in India* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1964), p. 7. See also K. M. Kapadia, 'The Family in Transition' *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, September 1959, pp. 71-2.

⁹ Louis Worth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44, July 1938, pp. 1-24.

¹⁰ M. B. Clinard, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹¹ Robert E. Park, E. W. Burgess and R. B. McKenzie in *The City*, 1926, p. 46; quoted by T. Earl Sullinger, *Sociology of Urbanization* (Michigan: Braun-Brumfield Inc., 1956), p. 1.

With the advent of freedom people looked forward to a better and brighter future. It inspired hope and provided a spring-board for social, political and economic ideals and ideologies from which flowed subtle and penetrating forces which affected the social mores in a very vital and significant manner. The enactment of the Indian Constitution with its fundamental rights and directive principles brought about a change in the social and political climate of this country. Its influence became widespread as its provisions covered different activities—legal, political, social and the like. The ideological and constitutional factors to some extent check-mated reactionary forces and produced the bedrock for political, social, economic, moral and cultural progress of our country.

Legislation “to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life”,¹² has affected vitally both institutions and individuals. Legislation affecting both rural and urban life and living including organization of village panchayats, provision for just and humane conditions of work, maternity relief, and free and compulsory education for children has greatly helped in bringing about manifold and intensive welfare activities. It has become incumbent on the State “to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities.”¹³

There followed in the wake of the Constitution, legislation with drastic overtones, reflecting itself in every facet of our national life. It has, for instance, completely overhauled the machinery for dealing with industrial unrest. Moreover, it has had an important bearing on urbanization, as will be noted later, for it has changed the entire pattern of living and behaviour of a vast mass of people that constitutes the labour class in urban areas. Thus it is seen that the Constitution has opened the door to advanced legislation, and apart from its far-reaching consequences, it would appear to be revolutionary, resulting in radical changes in the way of life, thinking and living both of the rural and urban populations. The sequel of recent tenancy legislation is significant. In some

¹² Article 38 of the *Constitution of India*.

¹³ Article 43 of the *Constitution of India*.

States it has led to the abolition of privileged land tenures, statutory ownership by tenants of lands cultivated by them, and the establishment of rural credit institutions and co-operative societies. Legislation has progressed at a very rapid pace and has changed the face of the country-side, but the metamorphosis is more so in urban areas. The question whether this legislation is all to the good can only be appreciated in its proper perspective when the impact of this legislation on individuals and institutions such as marriage, caste, family and property is examined.

The three Five Year Plans ushering the socialist order have inevitably led to national progress and have geared the nation to new and dynamic forces which promise to carry the country into an era of industrial prosperity and to cure permanently the imbalance between agriculture and industry which has been the bane of our economic life. With rapid industrialization, particularly by the initiation, growth and development of mining, heavy industries and basic industries, the people have been swept into the vast expanse and increasing tempo of technological and scientific advancement. The atmosphere has become charged with tension of the uncertain outcome that follows in the trail of rapid industrialization without corresponding advance in the educational and cultural attainments of the people. It is likely to result in industrialization becoming lop-sided in a system in which the individual emerges with little or no mental capacity to go with the industrial growth. This is another problem of urbanization and is a drag on the industrial progress of this country which manifests itself in industrial strife and labour unrest that we find in our midst. Our technology has advanced much faster than the comparable non-material aspects of our culture, institutions, customs and traditions. Both, the fact of unending culture change and the differential rate of culture change have important bearing on the study of social problems. These socio-economic and other problems that planning has brought in its wake have to be tackled by the sociologists no less than by the economists of this country, but it cannot be gainsaid that planning has to be co-ordinated.

Associated closely with the problems adumbrated, is the problem of increase in population which is an offshoot of urbanization. It is no longer in doubt that agriculture cannot maintain the population at the rate at which it is increasing, and industrialization therefore as a remedy has been suggested. One of the ways out of the

difficulty is to relieve the land of its population pressure by transferring the rural population to industrial centres. Dr Ghurye, however, is of the view that it is not the rural population that has to be shifted to the towns, but that industries should be taken to the rural areas so that the rural-urban continuum behaves more or less in a natural and organic manner.¹⁴ But the movement of population from rural to urban areas itself brings in its wake myriad problems as a by-product of the complete change from the agricultural to the industrial environment in which the individual is expected to live and strive. The influx of immigrants from the rural hinterland to Bombay city, it must be noted, is nearly 78.3 per cent.¹⁵ It is an indication of the tremendous rural-urban continuum. Remote from his village and transplanted into strange surroundings, the migrant loses his identity. The spiritual and moral nourishment derived from the soil which sustained him with the tradition of his forefathers is lost to him, thus precipitating a crisis of confidence and accentuating the conflict in behaviour traits instead of making for a stable personality. Lacking the preparation for his introduction into the modern metropolis with its industrial units and commercial instincts, he loses his bearings and is submerged in a welter of emotional conflicts. He wants to keep pace ideologically and otherwise with urban society, but subconsciously he is rooted in the rural setting and the pull of traditional forces is strong in him, thus creating an emotional trauma. He has no moorings and is cast adrift on a sea of mechanized and material civilization to fend for himself and very often becomes a victim to agitators of various kinds.

The resultant of urbanization and growth of population is unemployment and under-employment. It would be idle to presume that all the people who come into the city will be gainfully employed. As industrialization goes on apace, there is some assurance of securing employment; but industry cannot absorb more than its quota of the population. With the result that with the increasing influx of people into the cities, there is increasing unemployment. The Bombay survey found that in the Bombay city 1,427 or 6.9 per cent of the total available earners were without employment.

¹⁴ Those interested in the subject are referred to the scholarly work of Dr G. S. Ghurye, *Anatomy of a Rururban Community* (Bombay : Popular Prakashan, 1963).

¹⁵ J. F. Bulsara, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

This number constituted 3.8 per cent of the total earners in the age group 15-60 years and 2.3 per cent of the total persons covered by the sample, viz., 63, 168. The number of unemployed at that rate in a total population of four million in Greater Bombay would be about 92,000 persons. This large number of persons among the ranks of the unemployed would be found in all cities.¹⁶ There are various other problems which stem from urbanization, housing and accommodation not being the least of them. The evils arising from these twin problems can only be mitigated by distribution and spread of the population over a wider area. The serious predicament in which we are, has perhaps not been realized sufficiently. If the concentration of population in the cities is allowed to continue, the 'damaged lives' which result from over-crowding, apart from the question of ill-health due to the insanitary and inadequate housing conditions, would itself be a stupendous problem.

Connected with population and the standard of living, is a problem facing us today which may be called what sociologists characterize as "induced social change". This is with reference to the acceptance of the principles and methods of family planning *en masse* in India.¹⁷ It is an accepted fact by now that the Five Year Plans in India cannot be expected to attain their desired goals unless the growth of population is checked, since one of the concomitants of the Five Year Plans is to bring about an increase in the standard of living which can only be achieved if the population is kept within reasonable bounds. There is a dawning realization that family planning is a necessity and this realization has set into motion a number of reactions in the family pattern. In the first place, it is not in keeping with traditional norms and it has effected the outlook of the family and 'its old familiar ways' by introducing an element which militates against the injunction of the elders that the family should 'increase and multiply'. In the next place, family planning though accepted by most is not accepted by all, because the methods by which this planning has to be implemented imports certain practices which are contrary to the moral and religious sentiments and certain notions of propriety and purity

¹⁶ J. F. Bulsara, *op. cit.*, p. 147. See also *Bombay Report* (Lakdawalla and others, *Wages, Welfare and Well-Being of a Metropolis*) pp. 718-20, also at p. 678 et seq.

¹⁷ Ramakrishna Mukerjee, 'Sociologists and Social Change in India Today', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. XI, March-September 1962, pp. 3-4.

entertained by certain sections of them. Invariably, family planning is associated with these practices. But the possibilities of self-control and the rhythm method are not ruled out. It however cannot be denied that the association of these practices with family planning has raised larger issues and it has been questioned on religious, moral, psychological, sociological and other grounds and consequently has led to much mental conflict.

Women in India enjoy under the Constitution equal rights with men; this underscoring of the rights of women to be in *equali jura* finds concrete shape in the new legislation. In regard to education and occupation as well as in other spheres they have gained tremendous freedom. For example, taking education during the last twenty-five years, the percentage of education, particularly among the females, has risen and has had an impact on marriage. The rapid increase in school going females from 1932 onwards continued, and gathered momentum from 1948 to 1951, the percentage of educated females in 1951 having gone up to 7.9 per cent. The progress continued in the year that followed. The percentage of literacy among males was 24.9. The percentage of literacy in general has risen from 8.2 in 1921 to 16.6 in 1951.¹⁸ In Bombay city particularly, as in the other cities, the percentage of literacy has been rising as the following figures will show. Whereas in 1872 the percentage was 16.3, in 1911 it was 22.7, in 1931 it was 23.8 and 1951 it was 41.3.¹⁹ According to 1961 census, literacy in Greater Bombay was 58.5 per cent.²⁰

The spate of legislation in the country which has gone to free women from their social and economic fetters and from the shackles of unfair social traditions, conventions and prejudices, has been largely responsible for their emancipation. It is generally believed that the Indian woman is more tradition-ridden and therefore she fails to 'move with the times'. The general awakening, particularly in the post-Independence period, has seen that Indian women are

¹⁸ K. M. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, 'The Family in Transition', pp. 69-70.

¹⁹ J. F. Bulsara, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

²⁰ *Handbook of Basic Statistics of Maharashtra State* (Government of Maharashtra, 1961), p. 36.

The proportion of literates in Bombay city compare well with the rest of the urban areas where it was 46.6 per cent. The proportion of literacy among the males in Greater Bombay was 65.10 per cent as compared to 59.2 per cent in the rest of the urban areas. Among females, the percentage of literacy was 48.8 as against 32.44 in the remaining urban areas in the state.

not lacking either in the spirit of adventure or in reciprocating with the modern outlook. Industrialization, legislation and the overall cultural advancement has seen Indian women act to the quick in grasping opportunities of employment and taking advantages of openings in commerce and industry and other vocations, and even in professions hitherto monopolized by men such as engineering, architecture, accountancy and law. The intermingling of the sexes in the office and the factory and of the enjoyment of equal wages for equal hours of work, among other things, as a result of labour legislation, has opened to the Indian woman new avenues of endeavour and achievement where sex is no longer a barrier to her progress. Economic and social developments have created new needs and opportunities for women. About 42 per cent of the rural population and 33 per cent of the urban population constitute the labour force. Of the urban labour force of twenty-seven million in 1960-61, nearly five million or about 18 per cent were women. Roughly 24,000 registered themselves with employment exchanges every month and 3,000 are placed in employment.²¹ Besides these, are those who secure employment through agencies and media other than employment exchanges. The figures for rural areas remain imprecise. Only very rough estimates can be arrived at. Men and women from agricultural labour households work side by side and these households were estimated by the Second Agricultural Labour Committee to number about sixteen million or less than a third of the total number of rural households.²²

Legislation has tried to keep abreast of women's emancipation and, apart from the question whether legislation is the cause or the effect of this emancipation, it has set into motion in the various spheres of a woman's life and activity new and creative forces from which have emerged intricate and complex patterns of living and have become a part and parcel of the universal revolt of women against the established order of things. Whether the Indian woman in this revolt has gone as far as her sisters in other countries is a moot point, because the traditional influence has been all-embracing in this country and has made the Indian woman a more understanding and reasonable creature and Indian womanhood more docile in the better sense of the word. The traditional mores have,

²¹ *The Times of India*, 1 June 1964, p. 8.

²² *loc. cit.*

however, not prevented her from asserting those rights which have become her heritage and exercising the rights that have accrued to her through time. It is in this context that her position in our society is to be considered.

In my recent survey conducted in and confined to Greater Bombay, it is revealed that as a result of the Special Marriage Act, 1954, and the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, there were a number of wives who sought divorce and protection during the years 1954 to 1961 under the provisions of these Acts by taking resort to Courts, which is remarkable. Nearly two-thirds of the wives are petitioners in cases of matrimonial relief. Besides, a very few of them, but none the less significant, make joint applications with their husbands for such relief. Two salient facts arise from this, namely, the status today accorded to woman and the recognition of her equality with man, in that, in cases of maladjustments or disagreement, the law gives equal rights to both partners to the marriage to terminate it.

A Hindu marriage under the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, is a monogamous marriage and bigamy, under Section 17 of this Act, is rendered punishable as an offence under the Indian Penal Code. If the parties prefer a ceremonial marriage (sacramental form) it must be performed in accordance with the requirements of the Act. The Special Marriage Act, 1954, provides a special form of marriage in certain cases, for the registration of marriages and divorce. A Hindu by virtue of the provisions of this Act can marry another Hindu or a person belonging to any other community and have the marriage solemnized under the Act and the rights, obligations and status of the parties to such civil marriage in matters relating to restitution of conjugal rights, judicial separation, nullity of marriage and divorce are regulated by the provisions contained in this enactment. The enhanced freedom of contract accorded to parties to the marriage today among Hindus is evident. It may be mentioned in passing that the proposed provisions of the Indian Christian Marriage Bill on its becoming an Act, will bring it on par with the Hindu Marriage Act and the Special Marriage Act. It has provided additional grounds on which divorce can be sought by a Christian. Apparently, it is sought to give a Christian more legal rights than he had before. The Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) however, remains unchanged.

A mention may also be made, without assessing their intrinsic

values, of some other statutes which have furthered the woman's movement in India and added to her stature both economically and socially. These are, (1) The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, (2) The Hindu Gains of Learning Act, 1930, (3) The Hindu Married Woman's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance Act, 1946, now repealed by the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956, and (4) The Hindu Succession Act, 1956. The Act mentioned in (3) above aimed to provide the Hindu wife the right to separate residence and maintenance under certain circumstances, against her husband. It had also an indirect effect on the joint family system, because while improving the position of the Hindu wife, it caused disruption of the joint family in some cases. The Act mentioned in (4) above is an outstanding piece of social legislation and has provided a share to a female even in respect of property owned by a joint Hindu family of the Mitakshara type. Another important aspect of this Act is the abolition of what had come to be known as the limited estate of woman and she now gets full ownership. This Act as well as the Act mentioned in (2) above have undermined the joint family. Whilst legislation on the whole has improved the position of the Indian women socially, culturally and otherwise, it has been responsible for weakening the Mitakshara joint family; and in spite of its adverse effects on the joint family system, it has gone on undeterred to secure to women better rights in relation to property. Women today no longer occupy a subordinate position in the family as they did at one time. We must not, however, lose sight of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, which was passed to remove the disabilities from which Hindu women suffered in respect of rights of property relating to inheritance, partition and to give them rights in respect of property. This Act no doubt improved property rights of Hindu women considerably, but weakened the position of the joint family to a great extent. This Act is now repealed by the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. The subject of legislation particularly in dealing with women and property has been pursued at some length as it is of vital consideration in the estimation of the social mores.

The pros and cons of the various factors and forces that have been responsible in influencing marriage and family in our times have been considered. So far as marriage is concerned, the limited data at our disposal goes to show the emergence of a civil form of

marriage.²³ There is no indication on record of solemnization of marriages being accompanied by religious rites and ceremonies. But to all intents and purposes, they are not mutually exclusive as evidenced by the data aforesaid. It is pertinent to note that even though legislation has given an opportunity to the citizens to avail themselves, if they so desire, of the civil form of marriage without requiring them to follow any religious rites and ceremonies, yet, we find that by and large the marriages solemnized have not been devoid of their ceremonial penumbra and religious rites and ceremonies in a greater or less measure are adopted.²⁴ The manner in which marriages are solemnized is typical of the predilection of the Indian mind and its partiality to religious tradition. Whether the observance of these rites gives comfort to the mind that marriage being one of the important events in one's life it should be sanctified, or whether unconsciously there is some fear lurking in the mind that without invoking God's blessings the marriage might not be happy or successful as one desires it should be, are questions beyond the scope of this study. The fact remains that in spite of all formalities of a civil form of marriage being observed, parties

²³ The record maintained by the Registrar of Marriages shows the number of marriages in the State of Maharashtra and in Greater Bombay (as it was then) solemnized under the Special Marriage Act, as follows :

Year	Maharashtra State	Greater Bombay
1955	768	358
1956	786	426
1957	843	433
1958	900	445
1959	1062	530
1960	1057	581
1961	911	498
1962	—	546
1963	—	519
1964	—	555*

* This figure is based on the 'actuals' for 8 months from January to August 1964 which as the record states is 370.

²⁴ C. T. Kannan, *Inter-Caste and Inter-Communal Marriages in India* (Bombay: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1963), p. 64, substantiates this point thus: "The ratio between two types of marriages, that is, sacramental and civil, followed by sacramental rites or reception on the one hand and pure civil marriages on the other is 5 : 1."

do desire to give to the marriage a religious tinge or some sort of religious sanction without which they feel the solemnization of marriage is not complete or proper. The rites are intended to awaken in them the spiritual sense. It would appear, in the circumstances, that the marriage though ostensibly in the civil form is a combination of both the civil and religious forms and its culmination at times strikes us as more religious than civil. Hence, the irresistible conclusion from the data at hand that the psychological effect of a religious ceremony in marriage is largely responsible for creating a certain atmosphere and is contributive to the conditioning of the mind to accept and treat the bond of union as something permanent rather than ephemeral in keeping with traditional concepts. Though at times individuals resort to registered marriages for reasons which may seem expedient, they are nevertheless reluctant to eschew altogether the religious element in the marriage. The conflict in the individual's mind in trying to combine the civil form of marriage with traditional spiritual fervour becomes ineluctable.

It is also to be noted that a type of marriage which is gaining some ground today is the inter-caste or inter-communal marriage.²⁵ This involves a violation of custom, mode or usage in marriage by going beyond the bounds of caste and linguistic or religious groups. It is a recent phenomenon and this feature of the institution of marriage is 'gaining momentum during recent years'.²⁶ Parties to this type of marriage do not view it from the traditional plane, that is, in terms of their likes and dislikes, of food habits, language, religious attitudes, but rather from the ideological plane. Here a successful or happy marriage does not depend on the caste of the partners but proceeds on the footing of the traditional pattern, largely depending on the mental make-up of the partners to the marriage, their capacity to adjust and to understand each other. We should however look at the other side of the medal. Firstly, though it may indicate a weakening of the caste, this is more apparent than real. In many cases, caste endogamy has given way to sub-caste endogamy and parties to such marriages cling tenaciously to it. Secondly, complete volition is wanting and the parties have mental reservations in launching upon an inter-caste or inter-

²⁵ C. T. Kannan, *op. cit.*

²⁶ K. M. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, 'Sociological Bulletin', Vol. XI, March-September 1962, pp. 85-6.

communal marriage in spite of the love they bear towards each other. Conflict becomes inevitable. More so, since the marriage is not readily acceptable to the family, unless, of course, the alliance is tolerated for extraneous reasons, such as the very high status or outstanding ability or merit or wealth of one of the partners.

Coming to the family, the typical kind of joint family or in some cases the extended family has been the cause of a good deal of conflict and has led to dissatisfaction among many modern couples. For more reasons than one, persons prefer to sever from the joint family today. At the same time, there are those who like to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds and it is not uncommon to see young men impatient to be free from joint family ties, but at the same time desiring the security and the benefits of the joint family status. They are perpetually on the horns of a dilemma, being aware that the needs are met in a way by the joint family on the one hand and yet wanting to be independent on the other. This vacillation though disquieting to some, is nonetheless genuine and it is certain that the desire for nuclear family is on the increase. When modern young couples choose or are forced to choose, as there is rarely any choice to be made, to live in the joint family, it creates manifold problems, one of the most severe among them being disparity in expectations, especially role expectations. The demands of the joint family also make living in the family intolerable and hence the couple's reluctance to remain in the family. Those in the joint family of the present generation tend to differ from its orthodox members, making interaction difficult and inter-familial relationships rather uncomfortable. The conventional family has very definite ideas concerning husband-wife relationship. Modern young people do not often implicitly follow these traditional expectations; and to maintain peace in the family, by trying to compromise with these expected patterns, whether by accepting, rejecting, ignoring or modifying these patterns, they set before themselves a very difficult task. The search for a *via media* itself becomes frustrating. The question, then, is largely whether loyalty to the group has to give way to the exigencies of the time by allowing individual freedom to supercede it.

Love marriages are coming into their own. But by and large marriages are arranged, resulting at times in great disparity in role, status, education, occupation and other expectations. Freedom of choice in marital selection, individualistic and democratic ways

of thinking affect inter-personal relationship between the present-day husband and wife, more so, when marriages continue to be arranged. One partner expects much more of the other and if he or she fails to keep up with changing expectations and new roles, it does not always make for the desired compatibility in marriage.

The repercussions of the many and subtle changes mentioned have been profound on the youth of today. Influenced by the present-day ideologies and inspired by the ideals which beckon them forward, young men and women have begun to set up standards by which to judge themselves and to assimilate values according to which they feel they must conduct themselves. There is thus an urge to adapt a new pattern of behaviour. But this urge in the process of asserting itself encounters a host of orthodox, conservative and reactionary forces. The phenomenon of unrest as a result of this encounter becomes increasingly important in that it is symptomatic of youth's struggle with retrogressive forces. Traditional conceptions lose much of their importance and their place is taken by the sense of values which holds sway for the moment. Thus there creeps in much of the cynicism and scepticism which we associate with youth. It becomes intractable and is not amenable to discipline as is commonly understood. In some cases young people find that the moral precepts their parents offer are no longer relevant, or are contradicted by the parents' own behaviour. A confused pattern of living results, manifesting itself in insubordination and disobedience of authority. This transitory phase is characterized by frustration, indecision, and doubt. There are, however, young people with their freshness of vision and rebelliousness of mood, who are capable of shutting out doubts and hesitations, but find themselves otherwise overwhelmed. Of them it may be said, in the words of the late Sarojini Naidu, "that youth is like a sword shimmering in its scabbard".

In parent-child relationships, conflict of roles between children and parents becomes intensified due to the democratic, individualistic and liberal training now imparted to children. The conflict is between generations having different values and different conceptions of family roles. It has become increasingly difficult to impose authoritarian traditions of the last century on children of the present generation. Parent expectations frequently conflict with the children's desires. In an urban society which has little resistance to change in many areas, younger persons acquire attitudes

which conflict with those of the parents, for the former have closer contact with emerging patterns and are more adaptable to them. Sometimes due to the inevitability of intense conflict, an adolescent may be driven to adopt clandestine ways, and deviant and delinquent behaviour is the consequence.

In summing up, it can be safely asserted that separation, desertion and divorce as they represent various degrees of dissolution of the family are generally not favoured in Indian society. Today, however, the transitory phase of adjustment, or rather readjustment to changing ideas, ideologies, and values has brought to the surface maladjustment in some considerable number of cases. In others, it has brought to light families which were already 'weak' where marital partners displayed little marital affection and there was no sharing of desire or pleasure or mutuality of affection. This has made investigation into maladjustment imperative.

Unrest as seen from one small sector of the population, namely, the University students, illustrates the difficulties of transition. Young people have been traditionally expected to conform, to obey authority, to submit to rigid discipline, to adapt themselves to the customs and modes of living of the group to which they belong. Today they are beginning to think about themselves as individuals rather than as members of a group. Their ambition, initiative, self-development, and concern with social justice is challenging the old respect for established order. They want new and increasing opportunities. But they also want old securities. This dilemma that faces youth looms large in our day-to-day existence.²⁷

Individual and group behaviour of human beings has become the subject-matter of study and exploration. The aberrations presented and pathological manifestations observed have led increasingly to the exploration of the causative factors in maladjustments.

Social change is the order of the day and 'social movement' as an agency seeking to bring about social change in a transitional society is 'normal' and acceptable. The emphasis on the family and its patterns has indubitably led to the consideration of the subject of treatment and therefore sociologists and social workers

²⁷ Many seem to live simultaneously in two worlds : the traditional, static, religion-oriented, caste-bound, family-centred world ; and the inner-westernized and new-westernized rationalistic world of dynamic individualism and social progress.

are engaged in seeking a therapy in this behalf. Thus, guidance and counsel in the form of pre-marital and marriage counselling has become necessary.

Efforts to reduce deviant behaviour can be effective only if implemented by specific programmes; but difficulties dealing with deviant behaviour are often complicated by lack of agreement whether a problem exists and also by disagreement about the norms and values involved in the solution. There is no consensus of opinion. Fuller and Meyer²⁸ have distinguished between ameliorative and moral problems and they include divorce among moral problems. Whether the problem that faces us is an ameliorative or moral one is not a matter of dispute at the moment. It is, however, felt that in India causes and factors leading to divorce and marital discord are more in the nature of 'ameliorative deviations', which implies that if the situation was eliminated the deviant behaviour would be ameliorated or made better. Some sections of society feel that there is a general demoralization or 'devaluation' of ideas. On the other hand, there are those who think that there is a 'transvaluation' or an 'evaluation' in the values and ways of life. It is left to be seen whether 'progressive' education, prepares young people to be in a capacity to come by their own standard of values from the prevailing standards. That the situation is not demoralizing nor does it amount to devaluation of ideas, is borne out by the data of this study, and hence, amelioration more than psychological treatment is the desideratum.

A panorama of patterns is seen arising, as distinct from the older patterns, as a result of the clash of traditional and contemporary forces under various circumstances in the modern times. An inquiry into the nature of this conflict leads to the conclusion that the factors which have come into prominence in the various situations which have been examined, have not eliminated the traditional factor, but it is present throughout. The conflict has assumed one form or another. It is either apparent or real, innocuous or harmful, but its existence cannot be denied.²⁹ We are in a transitory

²⁸ Richard Fuller and Richard H. Meyers, 'Some Aspects of a Theory of Social Problems', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, February 1941, pp. 24-32.

²⁹ Individual personalities form three types, namely, (i) tradition-directed, that is, those who unthinkingly conform to the norms of their culture; (ii) inner-directed, that is, those who have some degree of independence in their actions and do not necessarily follow what others do but try to ignore

phase, and it is the essence of our tradition that saves this conflict from becoming a mere common denominator in our lives. It is something genuine and innate as seen from the trends in our cultural patterns, and even appears to be esoteric at times, which makes our development in a sense unique. The conflict is not irreconcilable with the individual's mainstream of life, because tradition in Indian life has always been predominant.

It is in this perspective that an appraisal has to be made of the various aspects of our development, whether it is the emancipation of women, urbanization, legislation or industrialization. Each of these aspects which have been dealt with is outstanding, consistent with our tradition, and accordingly their impact on our institutions, such as marriage and family, has brought about results which are not met with elsewhere. The broad sweep of tradition that has coloured our life and outlook remains, and modern science and technology have not been able to efface it.

Traditional influence has survived not so much by reason of its being deep-seated as because of its pliability and adaptability to the changing times. The clash of traditional and progressive forces is superficial because, in the ultimate analysis, we find a synthesis of the two. There are no wide differences or cleavages today because of the ever present undercurrent of a pattern which is essentially circumscribed and embedded in tradition.

Dr Radhakrishnan in his work, *The Hindu Way of Life* puts it thus:

A society which puts a halo of sanctity round its tradition gains an inestimable advantage of power and permanence. The Vedic tradition becomes surrounded by sanctity and so helped to transmit culture and ensure the continuity of civilization.³⁰

He goes on to say,

the environment or shape it to fit their needs, and (iii) modern type of personality or other-directed, that is, those who wish to conform and be like others, that is, losing his individuality and constantly following the dictates of others. [see David Riesman's *Faces In the Crowd—Individual Studies in Character and Politics* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1952) and *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, 1950).]

³⁰ S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life* (London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1954), p. 18.

a living tradition influences our inner faculties, humanizes our nature, and lifts us to a higher level. By means of it, every generation is moulded in a particular cast which gives individuality and interest to every cultural type.³¹

Man is a part of the whole pattern of values, social aspirations, traditions and folkways. "The rise of a creature reflecting on himself and his environment is a great development in evolution. Man is said to be the maker of things, *homo faber*. Man is also a pattern maker."³² An individual's sense of values is the outcome of number of factors in his life and as time advances these values undergo a change. They are not immutable. His environment, antecedents and his cultural heritage all come into the picture. The individual tries to conform his pattern of behaviour to such values. The social and religious tradition in India is largely influential in our acquiring a particular standard of values. At times, when there is a disintegration of values, this tradition does not allow of a vacuum. C. G. Jung states that amongst his patients over thirty-five years of age, there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life.³³ This cannot be said of our country as the Indian life is permeated with tradition. This tradition does not lack in contemporaneity. It carries the spirit of our civilization which, though rooted in the past, is moving towards a new future.

The religious tradition in India "has had from its early beginnings a distinctive character. It has been vital, flexible and in a state of constant growth. It has throughout its history been faithful to the idea of unity in diversity."³⁴

Human institutions are the product of human life and activity and reflect the modes, ideas and values of society. These institutions constitute the facets of human living and each of the facets has its peculiar characteristics which will be examined later. That inquiry will lead to a stage where it will be necessary to ask as to what particular feature prompts us to single out the institution of mar-

³¹ S. Radhakrishnan, *loc. cit.*

³² S. Radhakrishnan, *Fellowship of the Spirit*, The Centre for the Study of World Religions (Harvard Divinity School, 1961), p. 2.

³³ C. G. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1934), p. 264.

³⁴ S. Radhakrishnan, *Fellowship of the Spirit*, p. 10.

riage in India and the reason why it is so unique. This uniqueness necessitates a different approach from the one adopted by counsellors generally because of our background and the cultural and historical associations.

Counselling, by reason of this background and associations has an entirely unfamiliar situation to reckon with. This is because of the undercurrent of conflict which is the manifestation of the clash of tradition with modern trends. It is no doubt a transitory phase, and counselling today is confined to this phase and is called upon to attend to such problems as they arise during this transitory phase. Counselling in marriage and pre-marital counselling are particular aspects chosen for the purpose of consideration; the endeavour being to bring about solutions to the many problems arising in this regard during that transitional phase. How far the attempt has succeeded can only be judged by the augmentation of individual happiness which this endeavour seeks to achieve and thus to add substantially to the dimensions of human progress.

Part One

MARRIAGE UNDER TRIAL

“We do not live,” said Groddeck. “We are lived.” But we can learn to live, to study the latent potentialities of mankind, discover which ones are feasible and satisfying, and utilize science, education and government to relieve them.

—GARDNER MURPHY, *Human Potentialities*

MARRIAGE UNDER TRIAL

THE INSTITUTION of human marriage from times immemorial has been a subject of critical investigation due to its close and intimate relation to human happiness. In that large segment of an individual's life which constitutes his social life and involves relationship with another individual, this institution assumes extreme significance. Parties involved undergo a very complex experience in marriage, particularly in contemporary marriage. During its course, individuals engage in ordained and purposeful activity in order to obtain biological, psychological and social satisfaction, through constant meaningful interaction. At times, this interaction is successful. At times, not. In a society which is traditionally biased like ours and the basis of which is furnished by the social mores, marital interaction follows customary patterns. Responses are not predetermined but are in a constant state of flux, being subject to external pressures and changes.

With the pressure of external forces, marriage is undergoing a trial as seen, in the first instance, from relationships between the couples themselves and within the immediate environment and the disharmony in these relationships and, secondly, from the termination of unsuccessful relationships by resort to law courts. The extent, magnitude and nature of the trial can best be examined by the outcome of marriage as it exists at present. In this work, the discussion, however, is confined to maladjustment in marriage as seen from desertion and divorce cases. Such forces as are the underlying causes of maladjustment have been studied and considered.

Part One deals with dissatisfaction experienced by the partners to the marriage and the growing unrest which is making itself felt in the sphere of marriage and family life. The principal purpose of the chapters is to analyse factors in marriage which predispose individuals to maladjustment in marriage, and to examine those

eases of the unhappily married. They cover areas of investigation into desertion and divorce, both of them representing maladjustment in marriage, which phenomenon is the main theme of our analysis in this part.

Cases of discord and desertion which are typical of a form of instability either of the person or of the environment as reflected in the anomalous status of the partners to the marriage which has ended in marital disruption, have been studied from the records maintained by a local institution Bapnu Ghar.¹ Here are to be found case-histories of inmates who went there to seek refuge and help from the institution. Hitherto, such persons had no counselling help and had nowhere to go. Women whose marital relationship is under stress or in distress as a result thereof seek refuge in this and like institutions, because it is only now, due to the existence of such institutions, that women can give expression to their distress and make their hopes and fears apparent. The increasing number of women who are being sheltered in Bapnu Ghar is significant, and is deserving of observation and study. Among institutions of similar type which would be able to provide the necessary material for study, Bapnu Ghar has been selected for its fairly representative character, and data collected by this institution has been relied upon. It was felt that it is best to restrict ourselves to one institution which provides data on quite a representative scale so far as community, occupation, education and other objective factors are concerned, as many of the other agencies, whilst having valuable data for investigation, cater only to the needs of their immediate locality and hence represent a particular strata or substratum of a locale.

Bapnu Ghar has the added advantage in that it provides shelter for wives irrespective of their caste, creed or community or the locality from which they come, and from every strata of society. Such records as have been made available by this institution have their own shortcomings, specially on account of their lack of statistical value in certain respects. But as the data collected and presented by these records is indicative of the maladjustments referred to, it was considered notwithstanding its limitations as sufficient for

¹ The social institution 'Bapnu Ghar' promotes humanitarian activities and provides temporary shelter and rehabilitation to women in distress irrespective of caste, creed or community, including shelter for deserted wives. Started by the Lotus Trust in 1953, the management of the institution was handed over to the Bombay State Women's Council in May 1956.

our purpose. The lacuna alluded to can be attributed to the pioneering attempt in the field, and also due to the fact that case-work and case-workers are a development of very recent origin in our country.

Divorce as a socio-cultural phenomenon is a significant social concept. Marriage has been considered strictly speaking as a sacrament in Indian society. Although persons seek divorce and obtain it by the aid and authority of custom among the lower castes, among the higher castes and advanced Hindus, by and large, divorce is obtained by taking recourse to the law courts and the legal redress now available has made it possible for an unhappy couple to seek a way out of the deadlock in wedlock. Whether this trend is an overt expression of a new conception of the family, uneasily felt, but largely undefined; or whether it is the result of dynamic changes in the social environment; or whether these individual maladjustments are attempts to adapt our social life to modern conditions are questions to be examined.

To ascertain as far as possible the various factors that come into play in a modern marriage, a study of 894 cases of divorced couples from Court recordings has been made including the evidence recorded and the judgements pronounced in these cases. The data relative to such cases has been obtained from the Bombay City Civil Court² and covers a fairly large section of our society; and in the light of such data, the nature of the factors making for marital discord has been evaluated.

The opening chapter contains the substance of Court records and proceedings in respect of cases of desertion and divorce, so-called matrimonial causes, and deals with the objective factors pertaining to divorcees and deserters. Chapters Two and Three deal with causative or underlying factors in maladjustment and domestic discord as evinced from this data. This research takes into consideration motives, intentions, values and other such criteria, since it basically deals with human behaviour in all its varied

² The jurisdiction of the Bombay City Civil Court extends to the whole of Greater Bombay, vide the Bombay Laws and Bombay High Court (Declaration of Limits) Act, 1945. Subsequent amendment of the Act in 1956 further extended this jurisdiction to twenty-six more villages in the Bombay Suburban District.

Since January 1954 to July 1961, there were about 1,027 divorce cases, out of which records pertaining to 915 cases were examined. In twenty-one of these cases one of the parties alleged lunacy and these cases have been omitted from our sample.

aspects. Man's life is not the working of merely mechanical relations. There are different levels—the mechanical, the vital, the sentient, the intellectual and the spiritual. These currents cross and recross and interpenetrate each other. Our study militates against the method of a reductive positivism which tends to deny their reality or significance by reducing them to ostensibly more fundamental, physical or biochemical components.

This is a social survey more in the nature of analytical descriptive survey, which is directed towards certain prevailing conditions arising as a result of certain factors emerging from the social milieu. The concrete testimony to these factors are the facts which have come to light as a result of the search of the records aforesaid. This approach to problem solving, attempts to discover the underlying causes of the prevalent conditions and is the linchpin of the effort to come to grips with the existing situation in the hope that it might lead to the appreciation and diagnosis of a current social problem.

CHAPTER ONE

A SAMPLE OF DISORGANIZED UNITS

IN THE ANALYSIS OF marriages made in this study significant 'background elements' (subjective and objective) such as community, education, occupation, income, age, length and duration of marital period, children, etc., inasmuch as they reflect the marriage relationship, are considered and will be discussed in detail

in this Chapter.

Community, among other 'background elements' is an important basis for analysis, as it depicts a social nexus in our society. It reflects a 'common consensus' which may largely communicate a hidden desire to make known certain truths and prevalent practices.

Table 1 (p. 34) shows the community of couples chiefly in desertion cases as seen from the records maintained by the Social Agency.

From the Census data,¹ it is observed that in the population of Greater Bombay the proportion of Maharashtrians and Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana as 43 per cent and 19 per cent respectively, determining the measure of communities on the basis of linguistic affiliation. Muslims come next, being nearly four lakhs of the population of Greater Bombay. The rest belong to the minority communities such as North Indians, South Indians, Christians, Jews, Bengalis and Parsees. The ratio of the two prominent communities, namely, Maharashtrians and Gujaratis to the total population makes

¹ *Government of Bombay, District Census Handbook* (Greater Bombay, 1951), Section D-I (i), pp. 102-16.

Table 1
COMMUNITY COMPOSITION

<i>Community</i>	<i>No. of couples</i>	<i>Percentage to the total</i>
Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohara	193	52.6
Maharashtrians	88	24.0
Muslims	22	6.0
South Indians	7	1.9
North Indians	21	5.7
Bengalis	1	0.3
Jews	3	0.8
Christians	6	1.6
Parsees	3	0.8
Others (Inter-caste/Inter-communal)	7	1.9
Unspecified	16	4.4
TOTAL	367	100 0

it evident that they predominate over the other communities.²

As the Table indicates, Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana represent 52.6 per cent of the intake of the agency while Maharashtrians number 24 per cent, i.e., even less than one half of the Gujarati community. Muslims form 6.0 per cent of the intake, other Hindus such as North Indians inclusive of Sindhi, Punjabi and Sikh are 5.7 per cent; South Indians (i.e. Madras), Christians, Jews, Parsees, Bengalis feature as 1.9 per cent, 1.6 per cent, 0.8 per cent, 0.8 per cent and 0.3 per cent respectively. Others inclusive of inter-caste and inter-communal form 1.9 per cent.³ As against

² In the 1951 Census the Kutchi Lohanas featured as 1.5 per cent on the basis of linguistic affiliation. The 1961 Census shows their composition on linguistic basis to be 0.84 per cent. It may be noted too, that according to the 1961 Census and the *Municipal Year Book* (1964) the distribution of the Maharashtrian and Gujarati population is 42.76 per cent and 19.18 per cent respectively, measured on the basis of linguistic affiliation.

³ This proportion should not be interpreted to imply proportionate breakage of marriage in the respective communities.

The above figures *a priori* imply desertion to be higher in the above named two communities and more so among Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana. Perhaps this can be explained differently. In the first instance, they are the two predominant communities in our city. Secondly, the higher rate in the former community may be due to the fact that the agency being promoted and organized by persons belonging to the Gujarati community, it lends a sense of 'we feeling' to and instils confidence in members of this community and hence wives from this

Table 1A
THE COMMUNITY OF THE COUPLES AS COMPUTED
FROM COURT RECORDS*

<i>Community</i>	<i>No. of applicants</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Maharashtrian (Brahmins and non-Brahmins)	443	49.6
Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana	245	27.4
Other Hindus	94	10.7
Jains	11	1.0
Muslims	33	3.7
Christians	25	2.8
Jews	7	0.8
Others	19	2.1
Unknown	17	1.9
TOTAL	894	100.0

* In Appendix 1A this Table is slightly elaborated to show the castes of some communities.

Table 1, the above Table 1A based on 894 cases of desertion and discord as seen from the papers and proceedings of the City Civil Court, reveals a slightly different community composition.

Both the Tables (1 and 1A) relate to the same territorial limits.⁴ In Table 1A, unlike Table 1, Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana constitute only 27.4 per cent of the cases of desertion and discord going to Court. This is a little more than one half of the Maharashtrians' percentage which is 49.6. The number of Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana going to Court and seeking shelter in the institution is high proportionately to their total population as compared to that of the Maharashtrians, proportionately to their total population, which may imply *a priori* that there is a higher rate of disorganization of marriages in the Gujarati and Kutchi Lohana communities. The other communities featuring are, Muslim 3.7 per cent, Christian 2.8 per cent, Jews 0.8 per cent, other Hindus (inclusive of Bengalis, Punjabis, Sikhs, Rajputs, Sindhis, Madrasis) 10.7 per cent, others inclusive of inter-caste and inter-communal 2.1 per cent.

community, rather than from any other community will seek shelter here. This can with equal truth be said of other communities sheltered likewise in other homes and agencies; although, it must be noted, the objective of most agencies is non-sectarian.

⁴ *op. cit.* See the Jurisdiction of the City Civil Court.

Age

Many personal and social consequences are said to follow upon the age at which one marries and the age of the mate one chooses at marriage. The matter has received the attention of demographers, sociologists, marriage counsellors, physicians and psychiatrists. The Greek philosopher Aristotle, who was principally interested in the most effective procreation of population, was also concerned with that aspect of domestic harmony associated with marriage ages. In recent years, quite a number of investigators have attempted to determine how age at marriage and age-difference are related to marital adjustment, happiness and success of marriage.⁵ Some studies, among them being that of Lilian Brandth, taking cognizance of the beliefs of social workers, have given attention in their researches to the possible causative effect of age at marriage and age-difference in cases of desertion.

Age at marriage and disparity in the ages of married couples are matters of importance in the study of various problems connected with family life and are very significant in the discussion of marriage counselling and various child-welfare problems.

AGE AT MARRIAGE (Tables 2 and 2A)

Table 2

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF COUPLES FROM AGENCY RECORDINGS

<i>Age-group in years</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>		<i>Percentage</i>	
	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>
4-8	—	2	—	1.2
9-13	—	20	—	11.8
14-18	11	91	7.7	53.8
19-23	53	44	36.8	26.1
24-28	34	9	23.6	5.3
29-33	28	1	19.4	0.6
34-38	12	1	8.3	0.6
39-43	5	1	3.5	0.6
44-48	1	—	0.7	—
TOTAL	144	169	100.0	100.0

⁵ Thomas P. Monahan, 'Does Age at Marriage Matter in Divorce?' *Social Forces*, Vol. 32, 1953-54, p. 81.

From Table 2 on institutional cases it can be seen that 144 husbands and 169 wives have mentioned age at marriage. In the former, eight cases are not included as they show the age at subsequent marriage or marriages.⁶

Table 2A

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF COUPLES FROM COURT RECORDINGS

<i>Age-group in years</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>		<i>Percentage</i>	
	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>
4-8	3	6	0.66	1.51
9-13	3	23	0.66	5.78
14-18	48	155	10.50	38.95
19-23	166	146	36.32	36.68
24-28	143	56	31.29	14.07
29-33	57	9	12.47	2.26
34-38	21	2	4.60	0.50
39-43	13	1	2.84	0.25
44-48	2	—	0.44	—
49-53	1	—	0.22	—
TOTAL	457	398	100.00	100.00

In Table 2A dealing with divorce and potential divorce, 457 husbands and 398 wives are noted to have mentioned age at first marriage. Examining the Table on 'age at first marriage' in Agency and Court recordings respectively, 13.0 per cent and 7.29 per cent in the case of females show child marriages (4-13 years) to be quite prominent. From Court records we find 1.32 per cent of males are married at this early age. Though, this trend was only observed in the earlier decades, it seems that even after the Sharda Act came into force, such marriages still continue to take place and it is the girl who is predominantly under-age. It is well known that a high rate of child marriages still persists in Ahmedabad, where the Gujaratis form the vast majority of the population.

In the Tables presented, it will be seen that the highest percentage of females married between 14 and 23 years of age and their percentage indicated is 53.8 and 21.6 in age-groups of 14-18 and 19-23

⁶ In four cases, it was the man's second wife, in one other case, his third wife, and in the other two, both the husbands had already married three times and the wives were not aware that they were the husband's fourth wife.

years respectively, in institutional cases, and 38.95 per cent and 36.68 per cent respectively in the same age-groups in Court cases.

In the case of males, marriage mostly takes place between the age of 19 to 33 years. In institutional cases, we find 7.7 per cent are from 14-18 age-group, 36.8 per cent from 19-23 age-group, 23.6 per cent from 24-28 age-group, and 19.4 per cent from 29-33 age-group. In Court cases, the same tendency is found but somewhat differently, i.e., 10.50 per cent, 36.32 per cent, 31.29 per cent, and 12.47 per cent in the respective age-groups mentioned. It is worth noting that the highest number of males get married in the age-group of 19-23 years, showing a tendency to marry in comparatively early youth. The median age at marriage for the males as indicated by both these Tables (2 and 2A) is 26 years. In institutional cases, the median age for females is 16 years, while in Court cases the median age is 21 years. Obviously, there is a tendency among educated females to prolong the age at marriage. There is a gradual decrease in female marriages as years increase, but it is the reverse with the males. There is a growing tendency to marry as age advances.

Education

Education is an important criterion in the marital relationships and in our sample it is dealt with in detail commensurate with the data available.

Of the 367 cases of our sample of Agency cases, only in 131 cases or 35.6 per cent of the sample, the wives have mentioned their education. There is no recording of the husbands' education. Out of these 131 wives who have mentioned their education, only 26 of them have given details. Of these 26, 35.1 per cent have received education from I-IV grade, 36.6 per cent from IV-VIII grade, 0.8 per cent pre-matric, 2.3 per cent IX standard, 16.8 per cent S.S.C. or vernacular final. Only 3.0 per cent of the 131 wives, however, were graduates whilst 5.4 per cent reported they had no education. Apparently, most of these wives had only less than secondary education.

Out of 894 couples as seen from Court records not even 2 per cent have stated their education. Only 16 couples, i.e., 1.7 per cent have stated their educational qualifications.

Looking at the data from another angle, 27 husbands and 26 wives, i.e., 3.0 per cent and 2.9 per cent respectively, have mentioned

their education. Among the former, 18.6 per cent are double-graduates, 70.3 per cent graduates, 3.7 per cent intermediates and 7.4 per cent secondary school. Among the latter, only 19.2 per cent are graduates, 7.7 per cent are intermediates, 61.6 per cent secondary school and 11.5 per cent have stated that they had no education or could be classed as illiterate. Men obviously have a higher educational status. It is probable that a large number of women who have not mentioned their education, might have received informal domestic education and may be placed in the category of 'housewives'.

According to Terman,⁷ two very important questions arise with regard to the influence of education on a couple. The first is the relation of happiness to the extent of education that a spouse has had and the second is the difference in educational status between the spouses.

Various other authors have considered education as an important criterion in rating marital adjustment, satisfaction and happiness. Some like Merrill and Truxall⁸ stress education in role conflict and role expectations between couples in marriage. Still others, Nimkoff⁹ and Hamilton¹⁰ discuss the effects of formal education and its bearing on happiness in marriage. Burgess and Cottrell¹¹ report that with some, increased chances of success in marriage go with a rising level of education. While others, among them Terman,¹² Bernard,¹³ and Kirkpatrick¹⁴ consider it only a negligible correlation. But apart from rating marital happiness from among married couples, it is important to note those authors who have

⁷ L. M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co. Inc.), pp. 187-9.

⁸ Truxall and Merrill, *Marriage and the Family in American Culture* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1953), pp. 203-4. See also F. E. Merrill, *Courtship and Marriage* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. Inc., 1959), p. 245.

⁹ M. F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family* (New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1934), pp. 447-9.

¹⁰ G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage* (New York: Albert & Clarks, 1929), pp. 512-13.

¹¹ Burgess and Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939).

¹² L. M. Terman, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹³ J. Bernard, 'Factors in the Distribution of Success in Marriage', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1934, Vol. 4, pp. 49-60.

¹⁴ Clifford Kirkpatrick, 'Factors in Marital Adjustment', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1937, Vol. 43, pp. 270-83.

studied education with reference to marital discord, for instance, Merrill and Elliott,¹⁵ who stress divorce in terms of educational roles. Wallis and Booker,¹⁶ in their description and analysis of recorded cases of the National Marriage Guidance Council correlate education to various factors of discord such as, infidelity, personal defects, sex-difficulties, etc.

Whether education in marriage is favourable or unfavourable in terms of adjustment, our data in this behalf is very meagre to decide such important and interesting correlations. But education and other factors just mentioned, show that a negligible number of couples have mentioned educational status. In most cases, as will be observed from Tables 3 (i) and 3A on occupation of couples, the wives are in the main confined to doing household work or come in the better-termed category 'housewives'. Even among those mentioned in our Table on education a large number of them have a remarkably low education or rather an informal education, and if this is taken as a fair representation of a very small sample, it follows *a priori* that many more from the population will fall in the same category of education.

A very remarkable feature is the education of the males who come to Divorce Courts. Among these who mention their education, 70 per cent of the husbands are graduates as against 19.2 per cent of women who are graduates, and 61.6 per cent of the women had secondary school education. It is noted that wives of this sample enjoy a better educational status. A fact worth noting is that out of the sixteen couples who mention educational status, seven couples were both graduates, two couples were both double-graduates, and two couples—husbands graduates and wives double-graduates, one couple—husband double-graduate and wife graduate, one couple—husband graduate and wife intermediate, two couples—husbands graduates and wives secondary school, and one couple—both secondary school.

According to two American sociologists,¹⁷ having a degree seems to be correlated somewhat with a lower divorce rate and that fewer college-trained persons seek divorce. In other words, it would

¹⁵ Merrill and Elliott, *Social Disorganization* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1961), p. 428.

¹⁶ Wallis and Booker, *Marriage Counselling* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 167 et seq.

¹⁷ Merrill and Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

appear that disorganization and discord are prevalent more among the less educated. On the other hand, our data suggests that disparity in their education does not augur well for the couple. But worse still is equality of educational status which appears to hold more hazards for marriage than disparity in education. It might be said that persons less educated do not approach the Courts because they do not know the ropes. However, the data before us does not justify our coming to any further conclusion at the moment.

Occupation

One of the most recent American contributions¹⁸ to the study of this problem has developed the theory of the relation of occupation to marital adjustment. There can be no doubt that the occupation-cum-economic composition is amongst the most significant determinants of human behaviour. One of the most compelling instances of personal change and development in adult life is to be found in the typical group of an 'occupational personality'—words so aptly coined by Becker and Carper.¹⁹ "The process by which such occupation identifications are internalized by the individual, provides a mode of analysis suitable for the study of adult socialization."²⁰ The study of occupations today lays so much emphasis on the individual and his personality, that it is worthwhile to note its role in marital discord.

In institutional cases recorded, the nature of occupation and income of the husbands, may give some indication of the nature and level of education. The monthly income is noted wherever possible. As to occupation of women, surprisingly enough, there is not a single case at the time of initial registration, of the person being employed, which implies in a majority of the cases that they are engaged in domestic chores. But that some of them might be occupied in doing odd jobs or taking up orders of one sort or another from time to time mostly in the home and sometimes outside it, cannot be overlooked.

¹⁸ Anne Roe, *Psychology of Occupation* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956), p. 298.

¹⁹ Howard Becker and James W. Carper, 'The Development of Identification With an Occupation', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1956, Vol. 61, pp. 289-98.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

Table 3

THE MONTHLY INCOME OF THE HUSBANDS AND THEIR PERCENTAGES AS SEEN FROM CASES RECORDED BY THE AGENCY

<i>Monthly income (in Rs.)</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentages</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Up to 50	3	2.8	
51-100	29	25.8	
101-150	37	32.8	
151-200	11	9.4	
201-250	10	8.9	254 husbands have not disclosed their income
251-300	2	1.7	
301-400	4	3.5	
401-600	7	6.2	
601-1,000	6	5.5	
1,001-2,000	2	1.7	
Above 2,000	2	1.7	
	113	100.0	

Table 3(i)

OCCUPATION OF THE HUSBANDS AND THEIR PERCENTAGES AS SEEN FROM THE AGENCY RECORDS

<i>Types of occupation</i>	<i>No. of respondents</i>	<i>Percentages</i>
Unemployed or retired	16	11.7
Teaching	5	3.7
Medical	3	2.1
Mechanical	4	2.9
Salesmanship	3	2.1
Journalism	1	0.8
Fine Arts	1	0.8
Business	29	21.1
Executive	2	1.5
Clerical	11	8.0
Skilled labour	25	18.3
Unskilled labour	12	8.8
Agriculture	3	2.2
Others	22	16.0
	137	100.0

Out of 113 of those who mentioned income, the higher percentages are represented in the first few income-groups ranging from

Rs. 51-300 which is 78.6 per cent. The next slab of income ranges from Rs. 301 to Rs. 1,000 and represents 15.2 per cent and that above Rs. 1,000, 3.4 per cent, while those whose income is below Rs. 50 represented 2.8 per cent. Looking at it more closely, the highest number of individuals falls in the income-group of (1) Rs. 51-150 i.e. 58.6 per cent, (2) Rs. 151-200 i.e. 9.4 per cent, and (3) Rs. 50 i.e. 2.8 per cent, which is tantamount to being unemployed and cannot be considered even as subsistence level. These three categories represent the lower income groups. It may appear unusual that in the group of Rs. 201-300 only 1.7 per cent are represented. But one fact may be noted here as well as in divorce recording, a number of individuals have not mentioned their salary or income and may fall into the category loosely termed 'service'. Where there is no compulsion, it is often observed that the two occupational types who are reluctant to mention salary and occupation are (a) the white-collared fraternity and unskilled workmen falling usually within the low-range income-group, and (b) businessmen so-called (big or small) whose incomes vary and which they are chary of disclosing for one reason or another.

In Table 3(i) showing details of nature of occupation of husbands, if these are classified, the percentage indicated occupationwise would be as follows: (1) Professional, 14.9, (2) Business (big and small), 21.1, (3) Clerical and skilled, 44.5, (4) Unskilled, 8.8, and (5) Unemployed or Retired, 11.7. Although the nature of occupation cannot determine for us discord as peculiar to a particular occupation owing to fluctuations in income, it is interesting to note that discord in the clerical and skilled, business, unskilled and unemployed classes appears to outweigh discord in the professional class. But one cannot say with certainty that the skilled and clerical class, usually with low income, have higher discord rate in families. This is a subject that could be further explored to ascertain if nature of occupation in itself is a factor in domestic discord.

The relationship hence between occupational status, economic position, and family stability is not so simple and direct. Many variables are present in addition to income as such and the stability of income. The symbolic character of the income (that is, its social significance) is an important consideration, involving perhaps questions such as the definition of the role of the husband as a bread-winner at different social levels.

The following two Tables [3A and 3A(i)] will indicate (1) distribution of percentages based on profession alone of husband and wife, (2) husbands who have responded to occupation and income.

Table 3A

INCOME AND OCCUPATION OF COUPLES AS COMPUTED FROM COURT RECORDS

<i>Professional managerial</i>	<i>Big business</i>	<i>Small business</i>	<i>Clerical skilled</i>	<i>Unskilled</i>
Husbands: Total responded 566 = 100%				
63 11.13%	13 2 30%	49 8.66%	431 74 38%	20 3 53%
Wives: Total responded 324 100%				
6 1.85%	—	—	137 42 28%	8 2 47% 173 53 40% (household)

Table 3A(i)

MONTHLY INCOME AND PROFESSION

Nature of Profession: No. of cases

<i>Income group (in Rs.)</i>	<i>Professional managerial</i>	<i>Business Big</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>Clerical and skilled</i>	<i>Unskilled</i>
Up to 50	—	—	—	2 (0.87)*	7 (3.05)
51-100	—	—	4 (1.75)	20 (8.73)	12 (5.24)
101-150	—	—	1 (0.44)	39 (17.03)	4 (1.75)
151-200	—	—	3 (1.31)	27 (11.79)	1 (0.44)
201-250	4 (1.75)	—	9 (3.93)	20 (8.73)	1 (0.44)
251-300	1 (0.44)	—	8 (3.50)	12 (5.24)	—
301-400	4 (1.75)	—	5 (2.18)	8 (3.49)	—
401-600	7 (3.05)	—	2 (0.87)	2 (0.87)	—
601-1,000	5 (2.18)	6 (2.62)	—	—	—
1,001-2,000	3 (1.31)	5 (2.18)	—	—	—
Above 2,000	4 (1.75)	3 (1.31)	—	—	—
TOTAL	28 (12.23)	14 (6.11)	32 (13.98)	130 (56.76)	25 (10.92)

* Figures in brackets indicate the percentage of the total.

No. of cases where information is given 229 = 100.00%.

Note: (1) Business having an income of (up to) Rs. 500 per month are considered as small businessmen while those having more than Rs. 500 are classified as big businessmen. (2) District (Government) officers are classified under 'Professional', 'Managerial' category though their income ranges from Rs. 201.

It will be observed from Table 3A regarding profession of the husband, that nearly 78 per cent fall into the clerical, skilled and unskilled groups and only 22 per cent fall into the professional or business category. The same Table, regarding occupation of wives, shows that there are only 1.85 per cent in the professional category, 42.28 per cent in the clerical and skilled categories and 2.47 per cent in the unskilled category. The majority constituting 53.40 per cent are classed as housewives. Many more among those who have not mentioned their occupational status presumably belong to the last category; otherwise they would have responded. Looking at Table 3A(i), from the income and occupational points of view, we find that 72.57 per cent fall in the income group of Rs. 51 to Rs. 300 and 3.92 per cent in the income group up to Rs. 50, that is, nearly 76.43 per cent fall in the income group of Rs. 50 to Rs. 300, 12.21 per cent in the income group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 600; and only 11.36 per cent are placed in the substantially higher income group of Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,000 and over. It is obvious, therefore, that our sample comes in the lower income bracket. The group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 600, however, indicates that income of a person has no bearing on his occupational status and vice versa; and the notion commonly entertained that income is related to occupation is illusory.

While no definite conclusion can be drawn from rigid distinctions of occupation and income as to their effect on divorce and discord, a trend is noticeable which leads one to hazard an opinion in that the interaction of occupation and income is associated with the different degrees of intelligence, education, social status and financial security among the different strata in the hierarchy of the occupational set-up. The difficulty being that one cannot isolate the occupational factor from the entire constellation of factors which produce conflict.

It is very significant that income in most cases, and at times, occupation as a correlate of income reflects discord. Whether occupation *per se* is a primary factor conducive to divorce and discord, cannot yet be ascertained. It appears that income from profession or otherwise is a most significant factor in any event. This conclusion confirms the view held by Truxall and Merrill²¹

²¹ Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

that "commonsense conception of a high degree of conflicts and divorce among the proprietors and professional and higher income groups generally, as contrasted with the quiet domestic happiness of the working class, is not correct"; and that, "economic assurance and all that goes with it, in the way of adequacy of income and high professional status seems to be conducive to family stability, whereas poverty and low occupational status seems to produce the opposite effects".

Age Differentials

The age differential between husband and wife in marriage is emphasized particularly by gynaecologists as a factor in sex relationship. Sociologists and social workers quite generally regard disparity in age as a causative role in the creation of family tensions and maladjustments.²²

Van de Velde has suggested, "the man should be not less than five or more than seven years the senior".²³

It is noted from Table 4 that the median age difference of the couples is 7 years. The largest number of age differential is to be found in 4, 5 and 6 years respectively. High differentials in age is also noted, such as 8, 10, 13 years onwards, even over 25 to 30 years differential. For various reasons this is not quite surprising, for many girls are forced into and given in marriage to divorcees and widowers who may not ask for so much money (dowry or 'dehej') which they are prepared to forego for a young and pretty girl.

²² For interesting and revealing discussions see J. Bernard, 'Factors in the Distribution of Success in Marriage', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1934, Vol. 40, pp. 49-60; C. Kirkpatrick, 'Factors in Marital Adjustment', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1937, Vol. 43, pp. 270-83; Hart and Hart, 'Personality and the Family' (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1935), quoted by Terman. He cites at p. 186 in his book already mentioned that Hart and Hart have published a graphic chart showing the relative chances of successful marital adjustment for various ages of the bride and the groom and for various amounts of age difference. Terman, however, says that for his own examination of available evidence, he is convinced that there is at present no satisfactory basis for the charting of 'good' areas and 'danger' areas with respect to age differences. He agrees with Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex: A Manual for Students* (New York: Emerson Books, 1936), p. 268, that on this point there are at present few adequately convincing data on a broad basis.

²³ Van de Velde, *Ideal Marriage* (New York: Corvise Friedli, 1930), p. 274.

Table 4

'AGE-DIFFERENTIAL' OF COUPLES AS COMPUTED FROM THE
AGENCY RECORDS

<i>Difference in years</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Less than 1	2	1.3
1	2	1.3
2	11	7.0
3	9	6.0
4	13	8.2
5	23	14.5
6	16	10.0
7	15	9.4
8	12	7.5
9	5	3.1
10	10	6.3
11	6	4.0
12	4	2.5
13	5	3.1
14	—	—
15	2	1.3
16	3	1.9
17	3	1.9
18	3	1.9
19	—	—
20	3	1.9
21	3	1.9
22	2	1.3
23	—	—
24	1	0.6
25	2	1.3
26	1	0.6
27	—	—
28	1	0.6
29	—	—
30	1	0.6
	158	100.0

Table 4A
'AGE-DIFFERENTIAL' BETWEEN THE COUPLES
AS COMPUTED FROM COURT RECORDS

<i>Difference in years</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Less than 1	9	2.77
1	18	5.54
2	30	9.23
3	38	11.69
4	35	10.77
5	34	10.46
6	28	8.62
7	25	7.69
8	20	6.15
9	20	6.15
10	12	3.69
11	12	3.69
12	11	3.68
13	5	1.54
14	2	0.62
15	10	3.08
16	2	0.62
17	—	—
18	—	—
19	3	0.92
20	3	0.92
21	1	0.31
22	2	0.62
23	1	0.31
24	2	0.62
25	—	—
26	—	—
27	—	—
28	—	—
29	2	0.62
30	—	—
	325	100.00

In the above Table, the median difference in the age of the couple is 6 years. The largest number of couples are centered in the age-differentials 4, 5, 6 taken together, and in almost all cases the husband is older than the wife. The differential in age between our couples comes close to the standard of differential in an ideal

marriage as expressed by Van de Velde.²⁴ In 8.31 per cent of cases, couples are of the same age or less than a year's difference between husband and wife. According to the popular notion, however, the husband should be older than the wife but not much older, and perhaps, in no other country is this practice followed so much as in our country. But cases are not unknown where the age-differential is ten to fifteen years or more. There is a very negligible number of cases where the wife is older. In certain cases, it may be when the husband is a widower or divorcee, that he marries a younger divorcee or a spinster and with a fairly big differential. But such instances are few and far between.

Investigations carried out in Western countries show the number of marital adjustments to be highest when wife is older than husband. Burgess and Cottrell, for instance, show that the largest proportion of good adjustments was made where the wife was older than the husband, though they have not failed to state that the next best record was made by marriages where the husband was 8 or more years older than the wife. On the other hand, Terman's study showed that the happiest couples generally were those where the husband was from 3 to 5 years older than the wife. But the happiest husbands were those who were 12 or more years older than their wives, while the happiest group of wives had husbands from 4 to 10 years younger than themselves.²⁵

In our sample, the majority of the cases fall into the category of 4, 5 and 6 years differential, which is surprising. If so much disorganization is seen in couples even in this so-called ideal age-differential according to most authors, it fails to explain what the perfect age-differential for a 100 per cent successful couple ought to be. According to our data then, either fewer marry in the later differential stage which is claimed to be conducive to marital happiness; or one may agree with O. D. Duncan²⁶ who has observed that "subjectively, it may seem desirable to set up certain age rela-

²⁴ Van de Velde, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

²⁵ See Terman, *op. cit.*, p. 183 et seq. Also see M. F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and The Family* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), p. 463. According to Nimkoff a big difference, probably suggests a selective factor. He also feels that it is doubtful whether the age factor, within the normal range, is in itself important for marital happiness.

²⁶ O. D. Duncan, 'The Factor of Age in Marriage', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 39, p. 469.

tionships between husband and wife, but objectively it is difficult to defend any age relationship that does not appear as a predominating tendency in the actual behaviour of the group”.

AGE AT TIME OF DISCORD (Tables 5 and 5A)

Table 5

AGE AT TIME OF REGISTRATION AT THE AGENCY

Age-group in years	No. of cases		Percentage	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
4- 8	—	—	—	—
9-13	—	—	—	—
14-18	0	34	0	12.5
19-23	9	120	5.7	44.1
24-28	44	68	28.0	25.0
29-33	43	28	27.4	10.3
34-38	19	15	12.1	5.5
39-43	22	4	14.0	1.5
44-48	8	2	5.1	0.7
49-53	10	1	6.4	0.4
Above 53	2	0	1.3	—
	157	272	100.0	100.0

Table 5A

AGE AT THE TIME OF APPLICATION TO COURT

Age-group in years	No. of cases		Percentages	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
4- 8	—	—	—	—
9-13	—	—	—	—
14-18	1	14	0.21	3.42
19-23	34	114	7.08	27.80
24-28	108	150	22.50	36.59
29-33	154	76	32.08	18.53
34-38	102	38	21.25	9.27
39-43	50	14	10.42	3.42
44-48	16	3	3.33	0.93
49-53	7	0	1.46	0.0
Above 53	8	1	1.67	0.4
	480	410	100.00	100.00

In Tables 5 and 5A showing 'age at time of discord,' it is found that the median age at discord of males in both the cases, coming to the Institution and the Court, is 31 years and in case of females, the median age of females coming to the Institution and Court is 21 and 26 years respectively. In institutional cases it is interesting to note that when age at discord is recorded, that is, the period when the couple have estranged and the husband has deserted, the highest number of females comes from the 19-23 age-group. As many as half that number come from the age-group of 24-28 years and nearly one-third come from the age-group of 14-18 years, and a fairly good number come from the later age-group of 34-38 years. The highest number of wives coming to Court are from the age-group of 24-28 years. This is perhaps inevitable, since even if desertion and discord take place in the earlier years of marriage, actually the legal proceedings follow after some time has elapsed. The same holds true in the case of the husbands.

Table 6
MARITAL PERIOD AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE FROM
AGENCY CASES

<i>Span of marital period (years)</i>	<i>No. of couples</i>	<i>Per- cent- age</i>	<i>No. of years stayed together</i>	<i>No. of couples</i>	<i>Per- cent- age</i>
Less than 1 year	21	8.6	Less than 1 year	29	15.8
1- 5	92	37.9	1- 5	73	39.7
6-10	80	32.9	6-10	52	28.2
11-15	30	12.4	11-15	15	8.2
16-20	13	5.4	16-20	9	4.9
21-25	3	1.2	21-25	3	1.6
26-30	—	—	26-30	—	—
31-35	4	1.6	31-35	3	1.6
Not mentioned	124		Not known	183	

In Table 6, it is noted that those who mentioned marital span, viz., in 243 cases, 8.6 per cent, 37.9 per cent, 32.9 per cent and 12.4 per cent have mentioned it as less than a year, 1-5 years, 6-10 years, and 11-15 years respectively. But from the Table showing duration of marriage a different but real picture is obtained. Here it is seen

that the marital span and duration of effective marriage are not identical. From among the 184 who have mentioned duration of marriage, it is seen that 15.8 per cent, 39.7 per cent, 28.2 per cent and 8.2 per cent have shown the marital span as less than a year, 1-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years respectively. Cases are not unknown in the duration of 16-20 and 21-25 years, their percentage being as 4.9 and 1.6 respectively, which is indeed a fairly high percentage and shows that in matters of desertion the tendency is for couples to live together for a fairly long time. From this, one can understand the hesitation of parties to desert. In most cases, one of the parties refers to the institution in the very first two years of marriage. But hesitatingly so in the third, fourth or fifth year, when he or she is weighed down by responsibilities like children and other encumbrances. It is at this time too that much of sporadic desertion takes place, the marginal point of endurance being in the 10-15 years period. Desertion may be spurious or it may be held out as a threat, or it may be carried out with reluctance. In any event, there are situations where desertion becomes an immediate necessity and usually it lasts for a short period, although its tendency is to be sporadic at times according to the circumstances. Desertion as noted here may hence be largely due to the unbearable nature of the 'social' and/or 'economic' situation at some time. The women are socially subservient and economically dependent; and with a meagre education, divorce is not easily thinkable though not inevitable. Thus many an unhappy or maladjusted marriage becomes a test of endurance as the long duration of marital span reveals.

In Table 6A showing marital span of the couples, it is found that 72.37 per cent of the couples come to Court within the first 10 years of marriage. The number goes down considerably as the marital span increases. For instance, from 11-15 years, the number of couples coming to Court is 16.89 per cent; next come couples between 16-20 years who make up 6.04 per cent, and finally those between 21-25 years who make up 2.24 per cent of the couples approaching the Law Courts. In cases of still higher marital span shown in the same Table, the proportion of those resorting to courts of law is negligible. But from the data of duration of marriage, a more correct picture is obtained, as the marital span and duration of marriage are not co-terminus or they do not coincide. Of those who have mentioned duration of marriage, that is, in 600 or 61.1 per cent of the cases, 31.2 per cent have stayed together for a period of less

Table 6A

THE DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND OTHER DETAILS AS SEEN FROM COURT RECORDS AND PROCEEDINGS

<i>Span of marital period (years)</i>	<i>No. of couples</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No. of years stayed together</i>	<i>No. of couples</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Less than 1 year	28	3.13	Less than 1 year	187	20.92
1- 5	298	33.33	1- 5	286	31.99
6-10	321	35.91	6-10	87	9.73
11-15	151	16.89	11-15	28	3.13
16-20	54	6.04	16-20	7	0.79
21-25	20	2.24	21-25	2	0.22
26-30	4	0.45	26-30	1	0.11
31-35	6	0.67	31-35	2	0.22
Marital span not mentioned	12	1.34	Cases not mentioned	294	32.89

than a year, 47.7 per cent, 1-5 years, and 14.5 per cent, 5-10 years respectively. Besides, 4.1 per cent and 1.2 per cent have stayed together 11-15 years and 16-20 years respectively, however spasmodically. Of those who have not mentioned marital duration, many might have stayed together spasmodically, and it is not possible to make any definite statements as to the duration of their marital span. It shows that even though marital span is recorded from 1-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years and 16-20 years, couples seem to live together for even less than these periods, in some cases, for two-thirds of the period of the respective span of marriage.

This is very striking in view of the very high percentage seen in the marital duration of less than a year and 1-10 years. Though only 3.12 per cent of couples live together for less than a year marital span, there is comparatively an overwhelmingly high percentage indicated in that duration, which *a priori* implies that couples from the longer marital span have a shorter duration of cohabitation. It seems, too, that a large number of couples with 6-10 years marital span cohabit for a much shorter marital span than one assumes once discord has set in. Hence, the duration aforesaid is short-lived. Why this disparity in the length of marriage and its actual duration? Perhaps because of the fact that desertion takes place earlier, whilst the law requires that parties should have lived separately or the

desertion should be for not less than four years²⁷ prior to the relief sought. There is a tendency to desert even before the marital span specified by the parties has actually expired. There may also be other reasons. For instance, safety of one's person and of the children, may actuate parties to live separately although the marriage subsists.

As over 72.37 per cent go to Court from among those married for a period of 1-10 years, it would appear that the first 10 years are the unstable years of a marriage. Although 1-10 years period appears to be the peak point of marriage endurance, the first five years are, as Mowrer puts it, "the most perilous years".²⁸ Also, as age and years of marital span increase, the long duration itself tends to discourage or dissuade the parties from taking steps for dissolution of the union. It is only during the earlier years of marriage that a tendency to desert is witnessed, when also lack of adjustment between couples and with members of the household adds to the difficulties of the couples and results, in our society, in creating most of the problems which we associate with this period of marriage.

Table 7

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN TO COUPLES AND AGES OF CHILDREN ALONG WITH THEIR PERCENTAGE AS SEEN FROM AGENCY CASES

<i>No. of children</i>	<i>No. of couples</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Age-group</i>	<i>No. of children</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	82	40.4	Less than 1 year	18	10.6
1	46	22.7	1-3	49	28.8
2	29	14.3	4-6	41	24.1
3	27	13.4	7-9	33	19.4
4	13	6.4	10-12	18	10.6
5	4	1.9	13-15	5	2.9
6	—	—	16-18	3	1.8
7	—	—	19-23	2	1.2
8	2	0.9	24-26	1	0.6
	203	100.0		170	100.0

²⁷ According to the Bombay Hindu Divorce Act, 1957, it is four years for divorce. Under the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, it is not less than two years prior to the presentation of the petition for judicial separation and two years after the decree granting judicial separation, for divorce.

²⁸ E. R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 101.

From Table 7 (p. 54) we see that couples having 2, 3 and 4 children comprise 14.3 per cent, 13.4 per cent and 6.4 per cent respectively, while those having only one child constitute 22.7 per cent of the total. It is significant that those who have no children constitute nearly 40.4 per cent of the total. It is not so much because of the lack of children, as the fact that there are children and their welfare that prompts the wife and mother to desert. This is evident from the Table showing the age of children. Here the ages of children in 170 cases can be observed. It is likely that the lack of basic amenities, and the immediate situation being unbearable for both mother and child, that precipitate desertion when children are young. The number of children from the age-group less than one year and 1-9 years is 82.9 per cent. It is known by good authority that these years are the most formative period in a person's life and a disharmonious parental relationship during this period can have very adverse effects. More often than not children are considered an insurance against family disintegration, but denial of affection which children need and the emotional harm caused to children who live with parents who are unmindful of their responsibilities or are constantly in conflict with each other is no less a problem to be considered. Perhaps, it is to be deemed fortunate that so many deserters are without children.

Table 7A

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN TO COUPLES AND AGES OF CHILDREN ALONG WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE PERCENTAGE AS SEEN FROM COURT RECORDS

<i>No. of children</i>	<i>No. of couples</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Age-group</i>	<i>No. of children</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	475	63.31	Less than 1 year	14	3.5
1	159	21.1	1- 3	68	17.2
2	75	10.0	4- 6	112	28.4
3	28	3.7	7- 9	96	24.3
4	11	1.5	10-12	52	13.1
5	2	0.3	13-15	31	7.9
6	1	0.1	16-18	16	4.1
7	—	—	19-23	4	1.0
8	—	—	24-28	2	0.5
	751	100.0		395	100.0

Couples having two, three or four children comprise 10.1 per cent, 3.7 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively of those seeking redress in Court, whilst those with one child, constitute 21.3 per cent and those with no children, 63.3 per cent. If we include those couples who do not mention children, it can be safely assumed that they have no children and the number of couples without children among those who seek such redress increases to about nearly 70 per cent. The conspicuous feature is that couples with no children and those with only one child form the majority of those seeking redress in Court. Can it be that a desire for children or the lack of children disrupts the bond of matrimony? Or could it be that having no encumbrances besides maladjustment, if any, the parties feel that they are free to resort to desertion or separation or to take recourse to Court for divorce?

It is not clear whether children contribute to marital happiness or just keep parents, who want a divorce, from seeking one. It appears that the failure to have children induces divorce and family instability, especially where there are other disruptive factors. From Tables 7 and 7A on age-group of children, it is noted both in Court proceedings as well as Agency (desertion) cases, that the number of children less than 1 year to 12 years rates high. It is also noted from these two Tables that when older the children, parents tend to divorce, and when younger the children, the mothers tend to desert.

The Structure of the Family

Types of families are a very important criteria, especially so in our society, in order to understand and deal with our social problems. No definite conclusion can be drawn as to the nature of the family type, as data directly bearing on this question is not available. None the less, tentatively a conclusion can be drawn from the details obtained from Agency recordings and Court records and proceedings.

In Agency cases of the 210 wives (i.e. 57.20 per cent of the total sample) who have disclosed the type of family* 85 i.e. 40.5 per cent, were extended families including unmarried brother-in-law. In

* The exact composition of the household is not available in the records, but certain relationships in the family, as seen in the records, reveal that these relations which exist in extended or joint families in varying degrees were effectively operative in these cases.

some cases the widowed sister-in-law featured as a member of the extended family. In case of 42 wives out of 210 i.e. 20.0 per cent, they were joint families, and in only 83 cases i.e. 39.5 per cent they were nuclear families. If extended and joint families are combined, it is found that a number of them do not live as a unit of husband, wife and children, but include wife's in-laws.

Of the 894 cases under consideration, nearly 131 i.e. 29.3 per cent are cases involving money and dowry disputes, thus implying the joint family and extended family types. Cases of desertion and cruelty bring to light instances where the wife prefers, nay, demands to live in a nuclear family. It can be unhesitatingly asserted that a considerably high percentage, that is, over 45 per cent of the sample live within the joint or extended family environment.

The sample just analysed, which forms the basis of our study, gives a clear picture of the 'social' and 'economic' types that go to make up the data collected. After the initial description of this sample, what the factors are that disrupt such a fundamental unit 'the family' in our society will form the subject-matter of the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEMON OF DISHARMONY

DESERTION AND DIVORCE IS increasingly in evidence in our country today. The increasing rate of desertion as seen from records of the agencies and suicide among women, is a cause for serious concern and has come into public consciousness as the matrix of a growing social problem.

As such, it has received the attention of those who are primarily interested in analysing the forces that lead to this problem. Our impulses to assist fellow-beings apart, it is necessary, first of all, to understand the nature of the condition before any assistance of a rehabilitative or reconstructive nature can be effectively started.

An analysis of the various factors that create disruption between the spouses—whether temporary at times in the form of desertion, or permanent as determined after much consideration as in the case of termination of the marriage—therefore becomes imperative.

It would be rather presumptuous to try to analyse or diagnose marital discord, and specially so in terms of mathematical formulae. For one reason, it is difficult to determine what are the constant elements in the family relationships and to define a constant order or pattern in the relationships of husband and wife. According to Mowrer,¹ an analysis in terms of elements, though it may yield to statistical manipulation, perhaps with very complex formulae,

¹ E. R. Mowrer, *Domestic Discord* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 26.

one of them being the correlation method—"the correlation method, whether of two series or more is generally the most highly developed mathematical analysis applied to human behaviour".² However, to state human relationships in terms of such purely mathematical functions would be, perhaps, an impediment to the process of the realization of truth. This would rather discourage than encourage more thoroughgoing analysis or give one a false complacency about the whole thing, by framing the description into such rigid and simplified forms that more is lost than retained.

In a study of marital discord, the observation of the individual is basically from two angles: 'He' as 'he' as a personality determined by the peculiarities of the human situation and conditioned by his social environment. In the former case, he does not exist 'in general'. He is always an individual different from every other individual. He is distinctive by virtue of his peculiar blending of character, temperament, talents, tastes and dispositions. He can assist his human potentialities only by self-realization. At the same time, in the latter case, he is in interaction with society and the social structure and in this sense he is determined by human existence, common to all men, though more particularly so, to his immediate environment. Hence, as stated, the difficulty arises as to give a dispassionate and clear-cut analysis of discord. It may be of interest to note changes in relation between each individual and what may be classed under the term environment. On the other hand, "One can describe and calculate the interdependent changes which go on in the relations between husband and wife, which are of a general character so as to be related to a common pattern",³ but more than that means only a highly individualized case-study and individual analysis.

In a study of this nature, analysis, classification and diagnosis wherever possible becomes necessary. Analysis as a comprehensive examination of complex social facts, classification proceeding from discovery of typical situations, in which family discords arise, diagnosis closely related to analysis as a study of symptoms, is desired for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of the malady, its gravity and probable course; and determining what should be its treatment.

In analysing the present data caution has necessarily to be observed. Firstly, as already mentioned, constant elements in the

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

family relationships cannot be determined. Secondly, in attempting to determine what the diagnostic factors are in discord cases, one has to be particularly careful specially since most of the data is gathered from recorded statements—whether in Court proceedings or in the files of the institution, and such conclusions are drawn therefrom as are warranted in the circumstances.

In the institutional cases, unfortunately, there has been no systematic attempt to collate the data in case-records about the central concepts, i.e., problems. Consequently, one has at times perforce to draw inferences from the data available.

A second source of data, as already stated, is from the records and proceedings in the Bombay City Civil Court. To state the causes or factors of family disorganization (known as grounds) upon which divorces have been pleaded and granted is to say very little, for they ignore the human nature aspect of the problem. It is necessary to go beyond the formality of the legal process to discover what may be called the 'operative' factors of family disorganization. Statistics may seem a very formal method to use in discovering the factors effecting human relationships, yet through the proper manipulation and handling of divorce records, much light can be thrown on the real causes of divorce.

When a divorce is sought or granted, *a priori* it seems some sort of disintegration is present as a loss of the 'consciousness of unity' and conflicting interests which apparently cannot be merged. The provisions of the existing law require certain grounds such as desertion and cruelty, impotency, adultery, bigamy, etc. to be set out, in terms of which all divorce cases are largely stated. However, perusal of the Court records indicate that these 'so-called' grounds which are set out as required by the provisions of law are not in reality the causes of cleavage between husband and wife which result in the divorce. These grounds "appear as the 'externalia' which for reasons of appropriateness or expediency were chosen to cloak a ruptured relationship."⁴

Tables 9 and 10 (pp. 65, 70-71) that follow will show the important factors that contribute to discord in family disintegration and family disorganization.

The factors to which we will come presently are, firstly, those as seen from the institutional cases and, secondly, those which

⁴ E. R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, p. 58.

feature in Court proceedings. These factors, as will be noted, are in most cases the 'point of origin' of underlying causes of desertion. In the first instance, a study of 367 institutional cases brings out factors responsible for discord, and in Table 9 (p. 65) that follows, they are listed in the descending order according to their percentage occurrence in the total distribution of cases.

Along with these cases, the analysis made of 636 Court cases in which alleged desertion is the main ground, is considered. It examines major significant and important underlying factors such as ill-treatment, cruelty and adultery, personal defects in the form of various vices and disharmonious personality traits, incompatibility, economic insecurity and other personal and social factors as contributory causes of desertion.

In matrimonial causes so-called, the petitioners base their applications on certain legal grounds specified by the provisions of law. Of these grounds, a broad classification is made.

Table 8

PETITIONERS (HUSBANDS AND WIVES) IN COURT CASES AND
THE GROUNDS ON WHICH THE PETITIONS ARE FILED

<i>Grounds of application</i>	<i>Petitioners</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Husband and wife</i>	
Impotency	36	38	—	74
Adultery	110	74	—	184
Desertion, desertion and cruelty	382	240	14	636
Miscellaneous				
TOTAL	528	352	14	894

Not only are the words desertion, cruelty and adultery blanket terms, but the grounds overlap, that is, the same type of situation may in certain circumstances lead to a suit for divorce on one or the other of the grounds of desertion, cruelty, adultery or impotency.

For this purpose, the detailed Table 10 (pp. 70-71) drawn up separately shows the relative position when husbands are the

petitioners and when wives are the petitioners, to obtain a much clearer picture of the actual factors responsible for marital discord.

It must be noted, further, before proceeding with the discussion, that among the institutional cases, it is the wife who approaches the institution in most cases and the husbands are contacted later. In these cases, therefore, the social worker has access to the couple, and the relatives if necessary. It is considerably easier therefore to gather the couple's reasons and difficulties that constitute discord. Also, after some time has elapsed after the interview with the couple, the common ground of the dispute is revealed, though at times irrelevant matters to cloak or conceal unpleasant facts continue to be brought into the picture. A fact perhaps may be noted, too, viz. that desertion being temporary at most times, an immediate solution is called for. Hence, the main factor of discord usually has a common basis and often constitutes a central factor of discord which requires a ready solution. But in Court cases, invariably the real cause is clouded in a multitude of pleadings, affidavits in support and in rejoinder, and may only become evident at the stage of evidence. Parties try to hide the actual cause in a maze of allegations and counter-allegations and even when issues are framed, facts are hardly ever really revealed. Taking desertion, for instance, a husband or wife goes to Court with a certain amount of firmness of decision to terminate a union, but the petition is stoutly contested with equal firmness, if not more, and in the process, allegations are bandied about by the parties, but the real factors of discord are not brought to the surface. In Court proceedings, therefore, the pleadings, evidence and arguments give an indication of the nature of the conflict, but as to its cause, they are not always reliable. This has led to many comparatively superficial indications being considered as the basic reasons for marital conflict. The lack of insight into the underlying elements may exasperate the conflict.

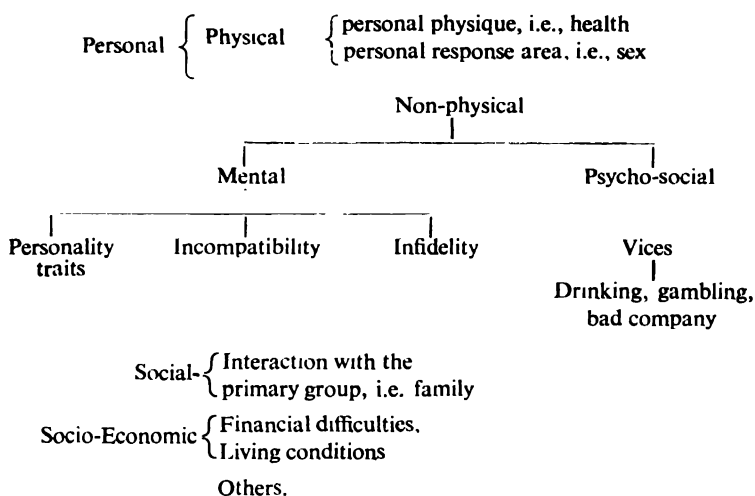
In the former case of the institution, hence, an understanding of the problem is required before it is resolved. Thus in-law harassment, economic distress, extra-marital affairs, sex disharmony, etc. are immediate underlying causes of desertion, which when they come to a head, require prompt solution. In desertion in Court cases, on the other hand, the parties are to a certain extent determined to contest; and getting at the core of the matter is deferred due to the proceedings which at times are protracted and the real

cause recedes more and more into the background and is lost in a plethora of legal technicalities.

When noting causes of desertion, in institution and Court cases the factors of discord will be listed as 'principal' factors when any one of these factors is predominant or is stressed or emphasized. Those factors which are mentioned and which may be equally important but have not been given sufficient stress are listed as 'complementary' factors, that is, factors which may co-exist with the principal factor. This only goes to show that the factors, however, are complex and the cases are not simple, so that frequently two, three, or more different factors contributing to the discord are mentioned for the same case. A given factor, it is true, does not have much meaning in itself, but takes on significance only in relation to all the other factors in this situation.

In institutional cases, factors as made known by one party or at times by both are noted. In Court cases, a common ground of discord is usually brought out and there is no need to see the discord from two points of view, namely, that of husband and wife separately. In the latter, as no casework or detailed investigation is done and each differs in the emphasis on factors, it is better to give separate identity to each. An expressed factor by the latter is usually an 'arranged' factor, being an allegation for instance, which is just a cover for the actual facts. And, therefore, in these cases the grievances alleged by both the parties are noted except when both stress one cause alone. It would be an injustice to emphasize any one factor by any one partner as important. In the written statement of the respondent, very often we see a different side of the picture and naturally enough we find there is a tendency either to disclose the correct facts or to conceal them, as the case may be, as it suits the individual or as it suits the party for the purpose of contesting the petition or as circumstances dictate.

The causes of discord before being explained and categorized will be classed according to the main sources from which they emanate. As recorded by our data, discord and disorganization may arise from four main sources, namely, personal, social, socio-economic and any other miscellaneous ones not falling under these three categories. The further sub-division of the three main sources is as follows:



The term 'Others' denotes such 'personal disorganization' as arising from:

1. Fraud marriages
2. Conversion
3. Renouncing the world
4. Repudiating the marriage.

The last three arising from 'personal conviction' of either one of the parties.

The personal area of discord is further divided into physical reflecting the personal, that is, health and personal response area, that is, sex. The non-physical is further divided into mental and psycho-social. In the first instance, that is, mental, it includes personality traits, incompatibility of all kinds and infidelity. Psycho-social includes vices in the form of drinking, gambling and bad company. The social area of discord arises from the interaction with the primary group, that is, the family, and the socio-economic reflects the financial difficulties and the living conditions. Under the category 'others', are listed fraud and desertion mainly arising from personal convictions, examples being change of religion, joining a religious order, etc.

To proceed, factors of discord as recorded in institutional cases will be discussed in their descending order of occurrence as listed in Table 9.

Table 9
**MAJOR AND COMPLEMENTARY FACTORS OF MARITAL
 DISCORD AS SEEN FROM INSTITUTION CASES**

<i>Major factors of marital discord</i>	<i>Complaint</i>	<i>Percent- age to the total</i>	<i>Comple- mentary</i>	<i>Percent- age to the total</i>
Ill-treatment by husband	105	28.6	66	18.0
Interference and ill-treatment by in-laws and family members	96	26.2	21	5.6
Infidelity	45	12.3	7	1.9
Financial difficulties	38	10.4	17	4.6
Personal defects	20	5.4	24	6.5
Vices	16	4.4	17	4.6
Incompatibility	14	3.8	4	1.0
Sex difficulties	8	2.2	2	.5
Health	3	.8	4	1.0
Living conditions	2	.5	9	2.4
Other	11	3.0	3	.8
Desertion by husband—reason not known	9	2.4	—	—
TOTAL	367	100.0	174	—

N.B. Under the heading 'complementary' are the frequencies of the factors mentioned by individuals which may co-exist with the principal factor and their percentage is derived from the total of 367.

The following conclusions follow from the data of Table 9. Ill-treatment by husband and family members is as high as 28.6 per cent and 26.2 per cent respectively, which is an outstandingly high percentage as compared to other contributing factors. Records do not provide sufficient data to further definitize the cause of ill-treatment by husband. Keeping in view our earlier Tables, probability considerations indicate the attribution of this factor more to the members of the extended family rather than to factors like personal defects or incompatibility. Infidelity stands at 12.3 per cent and economic insecurity is 10.4 per cent. They rate next highest as factors responsible for desertion. Infidelity further analysed shows extramarital affairs by husbands which rates high, but such affairs on the part of the wife are comparatively less frequent; while suspicion on the other hand, of wife by the husband as alleged by him, is more frequent. When, as a complaint

that is, in the main factor, infidelity in certain instances indicates that economic insecurity or an arranged match (brought about so as to thwart a precious love affair) may drive the wife to infidelity. When infidelity is a complementary factor, incompatibility of age and health—main complaints in themselves—are responsible factors for this behaviour. Besides, in two other instances, it was found that wives were pregnant before marriage which naturally aroused the husband's suspicion as to the wife's infidelity. In six cases, husbands had mistresses which *a fortiori* may imply that in the ultimate analysis personal response is not satisfactory. In such a case, infidelity may be due to some personal and environmental dissatisfaction or maladjustment, not specifically made known.

Economic distress, as noted, is due to insufficiency or irregularity of income or unemployment. Personal defects considered as personal non-physical factors has two origins, one emanating from personality traits, the other from psycho-social influences, particularly vices. The former in desertion stands at 5.4 per cent and the latter at 4.4 per cent as complaints. In the first instance, varied personality types are observable. For instance, of the 20 who have mentioned personal defects as a complaint, 20 per cent indicate suspicious husbands, 20 per cent and 10 per cent bad temper of husband and wife respectively; besides instances of disturbed personalities, dominating wife, demanding husband, sadist husband, unsteady wife, are noted. Out of the 22 who indicate personal defects as a complementary factor, inferiority complex of the wife is seen in 4.5 per cent of cases, unsteady wives in 9.0 per cent of cases, irresponsible wives 4.5 per cent of cases, temper of wives 14.0 per cent cases, suspicious husbands 18.5 per cent cases, temper of husbands 9.0 per cent cases among other such traits mentioned.

Though temper and suspicious nature are more frequent in personality defects, other personality traits in the form of jealousy, possessiveness, incestuous behaviour, immaturity and domineering nature are a marked feature obvious in institutional cases. A few cases indicate that family background and upbringing are also responsible in accentuating personal defects, like dominating nature of the wife and unsteady personality. Lack of data in respect of such factors as of family background, however, unfortunately make conclusive ascertainment of this position impossible.

So far as vices are concerned, there is an equal distribution considering drinking, gambling and bad company. In nearly 75 per

cent of cases, this is associated with economic insecurity; 3.8 per cent for incompatibility. This factor comes rather low, but as a total complex further broken up, it is found as an emphasis on 'incompatibility of age'. Incompatibility of religions, of interests and of background are mentioned too.

Sex difficulties feature at 2.2 per cent and unhealthy living conditions at 8 per cent and 5 per cent for husband and wife respectively. The very few cases of sex difficulties in the sample should not lead us to believe that they are insignificant. Perhaps proper and deeper investigation into cases would provide more significant details in this behalf. Under the term 'other', are chiefly marriages by fraud, where either the husband did not disclose his previous marriage or marriages, and where bigamous marriages were the source of trouble between the couple.

In institutional cases, as the complementary factors show, in only some cases two or more factors are present, since a major factor is usually 'concentrated'. The basic factor being so predominant, much importance is not attached by the parties to complementary factors. However, it is necessary to mention that the following four factors—ill-treatment by husband and family members, personal defects, financial difficulties and living conditions are factors which are frequently recurring as complementary factors. Thus, it is seen that social factors and socio-economic factors predominate, the personal physical being the least of the significant factors of discord as seen through the desertion sample in institutional cases.

In the sampling of the Court cases, the factors of discord will be discussed in the order of the area of discord, taking into consideration the personal, social and socio-economic areas. Taking the personal factors like health and sex, it is found that in the former case whether as a complaint or a complementary factor mentioned by husband or wife, the health factor stands at 0.9 per cent and 0.4 per cent respectively, which on the whole is a fairly low percentage. Even in the written statements, the health factor is insignificant and features in 1.0 per cent of cases where 299 wives replied to the husbands' petitions. Ill-health or physical disability are not important factors in marital discord except perhaps when there is a fear of intimate marital relations being impaired. On closer examination, the cases indicate that ill-health of wife is more of a threat likely to weaken the relationship than when the husband suffers from

ill-health, as the husband perhaps resents the inability of wife to satisfy his personal, physical and social needs.

Sex as a factor stands at 3.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent as a main complaint when husband and wife respectively are petitioners, which figures are considerably low as compared to the complementary factors which stand high in comparison, that is, 8.3 per cent when husband is the petitioner and 12.9 per cent when wife is the petitioner. In the written statements of 96 husbands, that is, 40 per cent of those who have replied to the 240 petitions of wives, 13.6 per cent state sex as a source of discord, while 299 wives, that is, 78.2 per cent who replied to 382 petitions of husbands, 3.3 per cent mention sex as a factor in discord. It is significant to note that as a complementary factor and in reply to petitions by the husband, it rates higher than as a complaint. *A priori* the sex factor, appears as a dormant factor, rather than as an active factor. Perhaps, the lack of emphasis on sex is due to the innate reserve of the parties, fear of being ridiculed or shame, even though it may be a powerful ingredient leading to marital disharmony. It is remarkable that wives more often than husbands make mention of this factor, while the latter do so only in reply. Apparently, as the wife makes it appear, the husband is often the cause of marital disharmony than she herself, but the husband's statement in reply shows that the wife is equally to be blamed or even more so; from mere allegations alone of either party it is difficult to ascertain who is the responsible party so far as sexual disharmony is concerned.

A closer analysis of discord arising from the sex factor indicates sexual disharmony as husbands mention in their petitions to stand at 33.3 per cent and 12.5 per cent as complaint and complementary factors respectively, whereas when wives mention sexual disharmony as a cause, 46.1 per cent and 25.1 per cent state it as complaint and complementary factors respectively. In these cases, sexual disharmony so far as the wife is concerned is due to physical defects in physiognomy of organs or frigidity, and may be due to aversion to husband, chiefly, due to forced marriages or as a result of lack of sex education. When the husband is responsible for sexual disharmony, deviations, pervert and abnormal behaviour is noted. Such overt physical manifestations as a factor of discord in the sexual area cannot be endured by the wife for more than a certain span of time, and therefore the wife is the one to make it more evident. Absence of children may also be a responsible factor,

besides the tension created by dissatisfaction of the marital union; this is a factor which induces the wife at times to take the initiative in divorce proceedings. Another factor noted is non-consummation, which rates extremely high, that is, 53.1 per cent and 78.1 per cent as complaint and complementary factors when the husband as petitioner makes allegations against the wife, and 46.1 per cent and 67.7 per cent when wife as the petitioner makes allegations against the husband. Wives are more conspicuous in this factor. As no particular mention is made by wives of non-consummation, it is likely that a number of those wives who refuse to consummate, or the refusal to cohabit arises out of a psychic reaction to some inner resentment of some external grievance and is in most cases reluctantly endured by the husband. These cases mentioned here do not by any chance exhaust the cases of sexual maladjustment within marriage ultimately causing its breakage. There are cases of impotency which are quite pronounced and as seen from Court records form 8 per cent and more of our recordings of petitions in Matrimonial Suits.

Personality defects as a personal physical factor, as stated already, consist of two categories, namely, personality traits and vices. Considering personality traits it stands fairly high; 6.9 per cent and 9.6 per cent and 6.2 per cent and 7.5 per cent as complaint and complementary factors respectively, when husband and wife are petitioners. In reply, 4.0 per cent wives have mentioned this factor. Personality traits, however, include a range of different sub-factors, such as temper, suspicion, cold and indifferent nature, aversion and quarrelsome nature. Of these traits temper, suspicious nature, cold and indifferent nature and aversion are depicted by the wife as complaint and complementary factors, personality traits such as temper, suspicious nature, cold and indifferent nature, aversion and quarrelsome nature stand at 19.2 per cent and 27.0 per cent, 7.7 per cent and 5.4 per cent, 27.0 per cent and 43.3 per cent, 15.4 per cent and 2.6 per cent, 30.7 per cent and 21.7 per cent respectively. Husbands, however, mention more often this factor than wives. The resentment of wives in other spheres—economic and social—may be more manifest in form of such personality traits.

Vice as a factor features more frequently with the husbands. It stands at 1.3 per cent and 1.2 per cent when husband and wife are petitioners and 9 per cent and 12.5 per cent as a complementary factor. As one may naturally expect, it is strikingly low when

Table

**PETITIONERS (HUSBAND'S AND WIFE'S) MENTION OF MAIN COMPLAINT
MARITAL DISCORD AND/OR DISORGANIZATION**

<i>Court cases</i>	<i>Main complaint</i>				<i>Complementary</i>	
	<i>When husband petitioner</i>		<i>When wife petitioner</i>		<i>When husband petitioner</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Health	3	0.9	1	0.4	3	0.9
Sex	15	3.9	13	5.4	32	8.3
Personal defects	26	6.9	15	6.2	37	9.6
Vices	5	1.3	27	11.2	3	0.9
Incompatibility	20	5.3	6	2.5	10	2.6
Infidelity	25	6.5	9	3.7	16	4.1
Ill-treatment by husband	—	—	44	18.4	—	—
Ill-treatment by family members	—	—	62	26.0	—	—
Financial difficulties	—	—	24	10.0	6	1.5
Living conditions	3	0.9	5	2.0	9	2.3
Other—fraud, conversion, renounced the world; repudiation of the marriage	11	2.8	11	4.5	21	5.5
Desertion for no reason	216	56.4	11	4.7	109	28.0
Reason cannot be made out	58	15.1	12	5.0		15.1
TOTAL	382	100.0	240	100.0		

It may be noted that 14 couples have put in joint applications and the major factor of

N.B. This Table also shows reply in written statement to petitions of husband or wife, statement.

10

(MAJOR FACTORS), COMPLEMENTARY FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR
AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE MARITAL UNION

<i>Factors</i>		<i>Written statement</i>			
<i>When wife petitioner</i>		<i>When wife petitioner (husband in reply)</i>		<i>When husband petitioner (wife in reply)</i>	
<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
1	0.4	---	—	3	1.0
31	12.9	13	13.6	10	13.3
18	7.5	5	5.2	12	4.0
30	12.5	—	—	12	4.0
7	2.9	5	5.2	20	7.0
17	7.0	17	17.8	27	9.0
73	30.4	—	—	63	21.0
88	36.6	—	—	113	37.7
21	8.7	—	—	23	7.7
16	6.6	2	2.0	12	4.0
•					
7	2.9	1	1.0	4	1.3
11	4.7	53	55.2	—	—
12	5.0	—	—	—	—

discord mentioned as 'incompatibility'. These have not been included in the above Table, in cases of those who have mentioned major factors of discord in reply in the written

husbands mention it and stands high when wives mention it. When noted among the vices, bad company is the only allegation made by husbands against wives. Drinking, gambling and bad company rate at 55.6 per cent and 43.3 per cent; 22.2 per cent and 23.4 per cent; 22.2 per cent and 33.3 per cent as complaint and complementary factors respectively, when wives allege against the husband's vices as a factor. A high rate of drinking and gambling are factors markedly associated with the husband alone.

The data, as Table 10 (pp. 70-71) shows, is inadequate to reveal such interesting correlations as may exist between education, status, etc. and personality defects. However, overt behaviour in the form of personality complexes as manifested and expressed is more akin to the wife, showing to that extent that the husband-wife relationship is not so congenial as it ought to be. Factors of a psycho-social nature are more expressed by husbands, and their addiction to drink and gambling and keeping bad company are perhaps a form of escapism resorted to by husbands as a way out of their problems.

Incompatibility, as another non-physical factor, stands at 5.3 per cent and 2.5 per cent respectively when husband and wife are petitioners and 2.6 per cent and 2.9 per cent when husband and wife mention it as a complementary factor. Incompatibility when subdivided, represents various forms, such as incompatibility of temperament, opinions, status, education and outlook. When we consider the factor as alleged by husbands, we find that of those 5.3 per cent who have stressed incompatibility as a factor, one half of them have emphasized differences of opinions of working conditions. Mention is also made of incompatibility in education and outlook as complaint and complementary factors. When written statement of wives is considered, of those who have mentioned incompatibility as a factor (in 7 per cent of them) nearly one-half mention incompatibility in education and one-fourth mention that of outlook. On the other hand, when wife as petitioner alleges incompatibility, the incompatibility of interests and opinions with particular reference to job interests is more frequent, temperament being also mentioned. In reply, husbands mention incompatibility of opinions which stress on working conditions, education and outlook. In most cases it appears that when the nature of the occupation entails separation of the spouses, it is a very potent source of discord. It may also be that the wife may have to live in extended family in the absence of the husband; such separation is not desired

by the wives. Of the husbands 10 per cent mention disparity in education, while in reply 45 per cent of the wives mention this disparity, as being responsible for disharmony. The low standard of education of the wife may be the source leading to the incompatibility in this respect. In a few instances where the status of the wife is higher than that of the husband, it tends to emphasize discordant relationship, just as there is a tendency to emphasize complexes. In one-fourth of the cases, wives in reply allege outlook as the cause of incompatibility, and this in most of the cases where the husband and his people are too orthodox leads to its conflict with the modern outlook and makes adjustment difficult, particularly for the wife in the early stages. It must be noted too that fourteen couples who have made joint petitions to the Court, have mentioned incompatibility as a major factor of discord and disharmony. Whether this ground is set out merely as a result of mutual agreement to suit the parties and to comply with the requirements of the law, or whether it is genuine is open to question. Among these fourteen couples, incompatibility in their respective interests, and opinions has been mostly expressed. Perhaps, one may assume that in their case, higher education, status and economic independence, especially of the woman, and her desire to be treated on equal footing with the husband and have her say in most spheres are grounds which more often make for incompatibility.

Infidelity is still another non-physical factor; it stands at 6.5 per cent and 3.7 per cent as complaint when husband and wife are petitioners respectively, and 4.1 per cent and 7.0 per cent as a complementary factor. Since as a complaint infidelity rates high when the husband is the petitioner, it seems husbands are more sensitive to wife's infidelity and resent it, but as a complementary factor it is high when the wife makes the allegation, which shows that infidelity by husband is comparatively endured or tolerated by the wife. This may be because, as the earlier Tables indicate, the wife is largely economically dependent and at the same time not highly educated. In the written statements of the husbands as respondents infidelity stands high, that is, 17.8 per cent, whilst with the wives in reply it stands at 9.0 per cent. On the whole, infidelity seems to be more a pronounced feature when the wife is concerned rather than the husband and her infidelity appears to be of more concern to him than his to her. Infidelity as seen from Table 10 varies both in degrees and kind. Of the husbands who

in their petitions have alleged infidelity of the wives, 76 per cent allege adultery by wife and 12 per cent extra-marital affairs of wife. When wives allege infidelity of husbands in their petitions bigamy stands at 22.2 per cent and remarriage at 33.3 per cent. In reply to the petitions (in their written statements) wives allege extra-marital affairs of husbands and their desire to marry a second wife and husbands allege adultery by and extra-marital affairs of wives. Such a high rate of adultery among wives and their extra-marital affairs may be arising primarily from two factors, firstly, it may be that arranged and forced alliances are mainly responsible for wives carrying on extra-marital affairs. On the other hand, ill-treatment and insecurity may drive her to adultery. As just noted, conflict over their separation necessitated or arising from the nature of the husband's occupation often takes place and may be one of the reasons for such adultery. So far as the husband is concerned basic dissatisfaction with the husband-wife relationship or uncongenial relationship, emotional insecurity and lack of understanding of each other may also be the causes leading to adulterous relations. When it is a question of remarriage of the husband, it may be on grounds to obtain a more handsome dowry, as few of our cases indicate.

A rather overwhelming factor as seen from our sampling of the Court cases, is that of ill-treatment which is only mentioned by the wives, that is, 18.4 per cent as the main complaint and 30.4 per cent as a complementary factor. It seems the high rate of the complementary percentage shows that ill-treatment is a result of some other causes. In their written statements to the husbands' petitions 21.0 per cent of the wives mention ill-treatment. This frequent mention of ill-treatment as a factor in desertion is inexplicable in itself.

Analysing further, it is found that when wives are petitioners, 26.0 per cent and 36.6 per cent of them mention interference and ill-treatment by husband's family members. In written statement, too, 21.0 per cent mention this factor, which indicates as does the very nature of this allegation *a priori* that extended and joint families are highly prevalent, although exact nature and extent of joint and extended families in these cases is not available. One is therefore led to believe that the wives here to a large extent form members of the extended family.

Financial difficulties are not at all found to be a complaint when

husbands are the petitioners, though it stands at 1.5 per cent as a complementary factor. In reply by the wives to these petitions, as a factor it is absent. Nevertheless, 10.0 per cent and 8.7 per cent as a complaint and complementary factor respectively, as mentioned by wives is an adequate indication that economic insecurity or at times financial distress is really the cause than is made out to be; it seems, though, the husband is reluctant to disclose his inability to provide for the family or indicate the economic insecurity, but it is likely that he may project his uneasiness in this regard by resort to vices or emphasize personality traits and incompatibility. Of those who have mentioned financial difficulties, it is seen that in certain instances wives have been coerced to lead immoral lives which is a factor beyond their endurance.

Living conditions depict the nature of lack of accommodation, privacy, and over-crowded housing problems. It is indicated as 0.9 per cent and 2.0 per cent, 2.3 per cent and 6.6 per cent respectively, as complaint and complementary factors when husband and wife respectively are petitioners. To a great extent it is a tolerant factor, but it appears in certain cases where the wives' positive emphasis may show that housing and privacy are basic amenities, the lack of which may sometimes be responsible for hampering good relationships.

There are still some cases which deserve mention, which come under the category of 'fraud' marriages. These complaints are usually when one party or the other is duped into marriage by force, or one of the parties is made to marry someone with a physical defect, usually in the case of girls who are not shown to the prospective bridegroom or his people, and at times, though not often, a wrong partner is given in marriage.

It is also seen from Table 10 that there are a number of husbands and few wives who state in their petitions that there is 'desertion for no reason' which as complaint stands at 56.4 per cent and 4.7 per cent for husbands and wives respectively. As complementary factor, it stands at 28.0 per cent and 4.7 per cent for husbands and wives respectively. In their written statements, too, the husbands, nearly 55.2 per cent of them, deny allegations of main causes of discord and say desertion was for no reason. It is noteworthy, although under the guise of 'desertion for no reason' to see that in the petition or written statement by the husband a clue is given that ill-treatment by family members and the desire of the wife to

live separately from the family are causes for the desertion of the wife. This betrays the given atmosphere and tone of the family feeling towards the wife. One is forced to believe that ill-treatment by the husband at times and by the husband's family at most times in such cases are greatly responsible factors for disruption of the marital union.

In the case of 15.1 per cent and 5.0 per cent of husbands and wives respectively as petitioners, the reasons for marital discord given are vague and indefinite and hence are not capable of lending themselves to any interpretation or explanation and have therefore not been subjected to any analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

DISCORD DISORGANIZATION AND DESERTION

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS the non-personal and personal data of cases just discussed bring out some striking facts. These need special mention. Desertion in the main, and with particular reference to matrimonial actions in a local Court and cases registered with a local institution were discussed. Proceeding, now,

to consider the objective factors, for instance, in desertion as seen from the record and proceedings of Court, it is found that men and women concerned are of a higher educational status, unlike those in the institutional cases, where among those women who have mentioned their education, over 36 per cent of them fall in the category of less than secondary school education level as compared to over 60 per cent of women in Court actions who fall in this same category. In the institutional cases, only 18 per cent have had secondary education and 3.0 per cent are graduates, while 26.7 per cent of women in Court cases have received higher education. Among the husbands too, in Court cases we see that over 80 per cent of our sampling are highly educated, which shows it to be the case that most husbands coming to Court are highly educated and although the education of husbands in the institution cases is not mentioned, it appears that notwithstanding their occupation being of a skilled nature, their education is not high, barring stray instances. Education, it would appear, does not seem to make any difference so far as desertion is concerned. But the fact that couples

do resort to Courts of law in itself implies to an extent that they are better provided today and are in a position to incur Court expenses or have been able to get some financial backing through other sources such as the family, community, etc. At the same time, nearly 42 per cent of the women in Court cases, take to skilled jobs which implies that they are fairly better educated, enlightened, and more assertively independent than those in the institution aforesaid.

The occupational status cannot determine the propensity to desert in the two groups. For, although it is striking that desertion is mostly found in the low income groups, in quite a significant number of cases, it is also found among persons in the higher income brackets as seen from the study of the record of Court cases featuring income groups or occupational status.

But if at all the economic factor of discord determines the incidence of economic insecurity, the pronounced indication of the economic factor rating third as a factor of maladjustment and discord in the institutional cases, indicates that the group is more hard-pressed, though one would hesitate to say that it is the 'poverty group'.

This perhaps only emphasizes the fact that irrespective of differences in the two groups, namely, the Court and the Institution, by reason of the one having better facilities than the other, desertion in the main is an emphasis on the 'total human situation'. Perhaps, the degree and intensity of the situation may differ. In Court actions, as was seen, the marital span is short, unlike those in desertion in institutional cases. But this is not to say that deserters who go to Court have more intensive problems. On the contrary, desertion in institutional cases is spontaneous and spasmodic, and although the total desertion in the marital span may be longer, the problems appear to be more immediate and intense. This suggests that the institution group of deserters is more conservative or more dependent, or less educated or more forbearing and enduring. Whether these two groups involve two personality types is a matter still to be investigated. Perhaps they have no moorings and lack even the basic facilities, unlike the case of deserters seen in Court cases. They require immediate help from outside sources. Hence the necessity of the support of the institution in their economic and emotional need. Desertion in this group is definitely more chronic, while desertion in Court cases, except for a few, is mostly calculated and premeditated.

Taking a closer view then, both groups of deserters tend to emphasize the degree of the impact of the situation in desertion rather than to categorize it structurally, i.e. economically, culturally or socially. Desertion, as a symptom of a crisis situation is unbearable to either party, though the way out of the problem by either party's avoidance of meeting the situation may be different, depending on the capacity of the party to deal with the situation emotionally, economically, socially or otherwise.

The infinite diversities of personalities itself, characteristic of human existence, tend to show equally varied manifestations in the human problems though basically produced by the same forces and environments. Examining a social factor responsible for desertion and discord, namely, ill-treatment by husband and family members, it goes to prove the impact of family life and the interaction in living within the extended family, the last being an outstanding feature even in our present day society. In the extended family, discord issues from two origins. Those arising from the material element, other than relationships, and those which centre on interpersonal relationships. As Tables 9 and 10 (pp. 65, 70-71) indicate the influence of relatives as a cause of domestic troubles is surprisingly large. The active sympathy or partisanship of relatives inevitably complicates the adjustment. This is evident as marriage automatically introduces a woman into a new group of individuals, namely, the joint or extended family and that, in its turn, introduces her into a new pattern of living among relations where the authority of the mother-in-law and father-in-law, sister-in-law and eldest brother-in-law is different from the authority of parents, brothers and sisters. "Whatever the system of further elaboration of the family organization, marriage in such a society means a change of household for the woman and the creation of new relationships for both the husband and the wife, the relationship of affines and their own peculiar relationship."¹ In addition, she has to participate in certain 'specific sentiments and world of behaviour patterns' characteristic of the kin group and the individuals within it. Thus our marriage system involves in most cases that the wife adjust herself to one kinship group and then to another, though the task is rendered difficult since the new-comer has to operate within the framework of the new kith and kin and adjust and readjust in terms of her

¹ G. S. Ghurye, *Family and Kin* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1962), p. 304.

personality to a total new environment. Whether as a complaint by the husband or the wife or when merely a mention by the husband or the wife is made, or in reply to petitions, it is found that problems of joint and extended families rate very high. Even in institutional cases, ill-treatment of the wife by family members and husband ranks first as a factor. The cases both from the Institution and the Court show us that there exists much data to show ill-treatment meted out to her by in-laws. The mother-in-law who is authoritarian and meddlesome creates disruption more than she can imagine. She is displeased when the daughter-in-law is not a good cook and angry too when cordial relations prevail between husband and wife and resents it when she is neglected and ignored. She does not stop at that. Often, she treats her daughter-in-law as a captive, and in some cases as a domestic servant. One daughter-in-law says, "I was hated, ill-treated, harassed, assaulted, beaten and my husband was prohibited by his mother to stay with me". In two instances which are cited and are worth mentioning, the mother-in-law dictated the husband (her son) in his marital rights and in one case she even refused to let the couple share the 'marriage bed'. In four cases, where the wife had no issue, she was reprimanded severely and ill-treated and in the case where the daughter-in-law's children were all girls, she was beaten and neglected. In some instances the daughter-in-law was even branded. The daughter-in-law hence is an unhappy victim of ostracization, suspicion, and superstition and is considered at times, as a harbinger of evil. Several such instances only provide proof of the sufferings of wives due to the social environment and uncongenial inter-personal relations.

The sister-in-law is perhaps the second difficult in-law after the mother-in-law. In several ways she shows symptoms of the mother-in-law syndrome. In her tendencies to meddle, to criticize, to backbite and gossip, to be dependent, to be possessive, to pamper and to intrude, the sister-in-law appears like a double dose of the demanding, exacting and meddlesome mother-in-law whose reputation is by now well established. The widowed sister-in-law who sometimes forms a member of her husband's household, perhaps through an unconscious psychological reaction, often projects her insecurity and want of love in her brother's affairs and is reluctant to relinquish control over his household and his personal affairs. She will mother him and he will become a victim to her whims and wiles.

While it is true that the father-in-law and the eldest brother-in-law are more accommodating and less troublesome, instances are not unknown of their creating unhappy and precarious situations. Taking advantage of being the sole provider and dictator of the joint or extended family household, the father-in-law or eldest brother-in-law are known to molest or have a desire for the daughter-in-law or sister-in-law, as the case may be, which literally puts the young husband on the horns of a dilemma whether to adhere to his family and ask his wife to accept this pattern or to watch the interests of his young wife and see to her welfare. Though very much is expected of the daughter-in-law in an Indian household by way of behaviour, duty and sentiment, she wonders whether she lives up to these expectations at times. There are several instances which unhappily provide data to show that she, too, is not always congenial and refuses to live in the new household. The new daughter-in-law refuses to be accommodating, is stubborn, is disrespectful to her husband's parents and family members, quarrelsome and resents the authority and dominance of the elders over her, specially the mother-in-law. This happens particularly when, being the only daughter of her parents, she is accustomed to being pampered and cannot fit into the new environment, or at times is over-dependent and wants to seek the attention of her parents and family members. Due to the complexity of such discord and disputes, it is difficult to pin-point the exact cause, the persons or the situation responsible for desertion and discord. In either case, the embarrassed and puzzled husband is very often a silent spectator and is overwhelmed by two forces pulling in opposite directions, namely, his household and his people and her family and his in-laws. Many a time, therefore, the bone of contention between husband and wife is that the wife urges the husband to stay away from his parents and relatives. Often in such cases she says she is even willing to stay with him and perform her marital obligations, but she wants her husband's assurance of kind treatment, and a sympathetic word from the persons in the house, and if this is not possible she would live separately with her husband. The cruelty meted out to her at times is so inhuman that she is determined to stay away from the relations of her husband even at the cost of desertion for a lifetime.

Along with orthodox ways of thinking, unchangeable and rigid attitudes, the opinions and circumstances regarding living away from family members, though understandable, are overwhelming

too. There are many husbands who share the opinion that the wife is duty bound to live with her husband in the joint or extended family, as looking to their income, they will suffer miserably by disruption.

Again, when the wife takes the stand that looking after the home is domestic drudgery, the husband counters, "It is shameful to say it is a domestic drudgery to reside with parents-in-law, specially in their old age". Still others talk in terms of responsibility. The husband says that those days are bound to come when all his sisters get married. Now being the eldest, he was responsible as both his parents were dead and in fact she should co-operate to get his sisters married. All this shows us that loyalty, dependence, duty, and kinship ties are still strong, and the idea of a complete nuclear family is not yet welcomed in our society.

In-laws are in-laws on either side. Often there is interference, instigation from the wife's father, mother, brother or sister, who tutor her to nag, worry or taunt her husband and her in-laws.

But the thing most disliked by the husband, is to be a *gharzami* or *gharzavai*, that is, to share the 'matri-local' home. This is manoeuvred at times by her people in order that the son-in-law and daughter, may be a support or help in their old age, when she is the only daughter, or when daughter and son-in-law are dependent on her parents. Sometimes the families directly and the husband and wife are indirectly involved in the material elements which go to constitute the marriage. Thus disputes centre on dowry and stridhan, or other property commitments, made at the time of the marriage. The ill-treatment of husband and his family members may therefore at times centre on a critical problem pertaining to money matters or as to the settlement of dowry disputes, when at times too little is given, or when the demand for more is persistent. Many wives, as unfortunate victims, are involved in this controversy to the detriment of their marital harmony. At times, this interference from external sources, such as severe disputes over dowry and ensuing ill-treatment can reach serious proportions and cases are not unknown where a young wife has attempted suicide in her desperation.

In our country much is endured by the woman, and yet much more is expected of her. When one wife objected to joint-family living, she was told in confidence by her uncle that as she was married, had to suffer patiently like a good Hindu wife and in course of time her husband might find a separate place for residence and thus

end all persecution. It seems the Indian woman's life is just to live in hope, and the family in the initial period detest the idea of terminating a marriage even though things are at their worst.

As one judge in his *obiter dicta* remarked, "merely because a Hindu wife says that she has no intentions to leave the home, although she was ill-treated by her husband, it cannot be inferred that the said ill-treatment cannot be a reason which compels the wife to leave her home". The observation only comes to this that the wife could try her best to bear that ill-treatment as far as possible. It is no doubt true that the woman in our society had to, and has still to undergo much physical and mental forbearance in a marriage at the cost of torture. Whatever may be the forces of the twentieth century contending with this position, there is a silent revolt and the wife is no more going to be a creature of self-abnegation that she always has been—as she is rightly awakened now to the consciousness of her rights and is increasingly wanting to assert herself and her individuality. As one wife said, "those days are over when a woman could be treated as a slave and as a chattel".

Desertion and the suicide rate means much more. It is a symptom of social malaise, a sad symbol of emotional starvation and psychological malnutrition. The in-law problem is not always to be found where close ties are existing between mother and son, or sister and brother, but more often the daughter-in-law being very sensitive and feeling herself insecure in a comparatively new and often uncongenial environment; she is unequal to the task of competing with the mother for the affections of her son, or with the widowed sister for the affections of her brother. It may also be as indicated earlier, that the daughter-in-law is not so accommodating or of a genial disposition herself because of her own lack of understanding or emotional insecurity, her possessiveness and her craving to be given priority. Very often the son is devoted to his parents and the wife may resent this behaviour on his part. Also in the beginning, she still occupies the position of a stranger, except in love marriages, and the son is more solicitous of his parents rather than of her welfare. These observations emphasize the cardinal importance of unconscious psychological forces in the relations of married couples and their parents and family members. The mother-in-law adjustment, it seems, like the problem of sexual adjustment and the problem of financial management, turns out to be a function of the total personality adjustment of husband and wife.

The data collected and analysed amply illustrates that the in-law problem is not a handy peg on which to hang one's own unconscious grievances, the precisely unfortunate part being that external circumstances responsible for family conflict and chiefly responsible for the rift between the young couple, unfortunately ruptures a personal response area, thus making for strained relationships.

Among the personal physical factors, discord arising from health factors is very rarely a potential cause for disruption. But the personal physical factor, namely, the sex factor, as already observed, is more a cause of disruption than is commonly felt. The sex factor is no doubt a distinctive feature in marriage, it being the most intimate relationship between male and female; hence according to some authors, proper sex adjustment is crucial for marital happiness. In various works, one finds statements to the effect that there are no unhappy marriages without their element of sexual incompatibility and conversely that all happy marriages are marked by sexual felicity! Perhaps, both these statements may not be true. Sexual adjustment, no doubt, is a desired condition for marital success and "the sex act has become the symbol of complete marital union"² and though most sexologists view it as the most important factor, Terman seems to express the view very appropriately, "the sexologist is not wholly wrong", he says, "but it is pretty certain that his emphasis has been over done. There is more to marriage than the sexual embrace".³ But while the protagonists who emphasize sex as a highly influencing factor in marital life, one can say without any fear of contradiction that the sexual relationship in marriage is a function of the entire personality which in turn is a product of a variety of biological and cultural constituents. The sex factor then, though it may not be given undue importance, cannot be overlooked when considering marital discord. Taking into consideration the sex factor, as a factor of discord noted in the sample studied, it is found that in the institutional cases, keen investigation is lacking, which perhaps, has failed to bring out in the open the problem in its entirety and the whole truth remains unlearnt. Perhaps, too, this group having more urgent and pressing needs which have preference, sex is considered only one among them and it is hardly, if ever, mentioned except when it is the only cause

² Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

³ L. M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York and London: McGraw Hill Book Co. Inc., 1938), p. 247.

leading to disharmony and desertion. But a fairly good sampling of the Court cases shows that the sex problem looms large because any difficulty in the adjustment between the husband and wife is likely to be reflected first in their sex act or experience, since this is an area in which the earliest overt adjustments must be made. "Conflict on the sexual level therefore symbolizes other personality differences. It is this symbolic quality of the sexual relationship, rather than its importance *per se*, that renders it important in marital success!"⁴ It is very uncertain and difficult to say whether sex as a sole factor is a cause for disruption with certain couples. Considering the fact that a sole factor is one where there is a total disruption of the marriage bond due to there being exclusively a sex difficulty, difference, maladjustment or incompatibility. For instance, in cases of sex disease or impotency due to some physical defect which may be a sole factor as to disrupt or terminate a marriage as a factor effecting either of the parties or both of them. But strangely enough, as the collected data indicates, more often a large percentage comes within the category of non-consummation, or refusal to cohabit specially on the part of the wife. It is here that various factors play the role of potent cause and lies at the root of most cases of marital disharmony.

In Court cases it is not surprising to find that as a major factor, the sex factor is dormant, but as a complementary factor, it rates second highest. Whether the husband or wife is a partisan in the conflict in this area, it affects both the parties to the union. When husbands are responsible for sexual disharmony, excessive sex demands, deviations in the form of bestiality and brutality are not unknown. It is obvious that "the sex impulse is never quite the same for both and no two persons perhaps have exactly the same emotional attitudes and love contacts. Sexual excesses and sexual anaesthesia tend to accentuate this latent antagonism!"⁵ When the wife is responsible for sex factors, wilful refusal to cohabit may be a projection of her frigidity (physical function or relative), improper upbringing or lack of guidance and sex instruction before marriage or as an outcome of forced marriage. In case of physical or functional impotency, which is due to her undeveloped organs unlike relative impotency, more often than not there is an aversion to the

⁴ Harriet R. Mowrer, *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord*, quoted by Truxall and Merrill (New York: American Book Co., 1935), p. 259.

⁵ E. R. Mowrer, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

husband due to forced alliance whatever be the grounds on which it is arranged, for instance, coercion, money, status, family uplift etc. The wife's frigidity ranges from her dislike for the sex act reflecting her attitude in life, her upbringing to the projection of some inner resentment for one reason or other or any domestic affair which has led to her harbouring ill-feelings which have been repressed. It seems that a wife's domestic, economic, personal and social problems often reflect her grievances in this personal response area. The fundamental cause being much deeper than the one that is manifested. There are innumerable examples in this respect, but only a few are evident. One wife said that the accommodation problem was so acute that quarrels first began on this score and gradually relations became strained in the personal response area. In another instance, the husband's dissatisfaction regarding dowry was so pronounced, that he stopped having any sex relations with his wife. Often, stridhan, dowry, property disputes, in-law maladjustments are underlying causes.

In another case cited, resulting in absence of marital relationship where a slow process brews up till it disrupts personal relations. Temper leads to ill-treatment by the husband, and when accompanied by an economic crisis in the family makes for savage treatment which later reflects in non-consummation. Again, acute shortage of accommodation, quarrels over trifles, wife wanting to stay separately from the husband's family members, neglect of household duties, etc., gradually builds up an outward indifferent attitude which leads to refusal to cohabit. One cannot but agree with Nimkoff that, "a quarrel over money, or in-laws or other matters, is likely to be reflected in sexual coolness on the part of the couple towards each other, unless precautions are taken to prevent it. The coolness may develop into frigidity and lead to sex tensions, and the inhibitions of sex lead to strain."⁶

The reasons that motivate the spouse (usually the wife) to deny coitus, as Merrill puts it, "may not be directly related to sexual frustrations. The tensions and conflicts of any given marriage are difficult to correlate. Whatever the underlying causes for complete denial, its implications can hardly be misunderstood. The symbolic quality of marital coitus means that its refusal is a highly meaningful act."⁷

⁶ M. F. Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

⁷ Francis E. Merrill, *Courtship and Marriage* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1959), p. 304.

These cases which emphasize the sexual area, thus show the importance of this factor responsible at times for disruption of the marital union. One sees therefore that there is much more to desertion than is ordinarily made out to be. One cannot rely on the surface appearances, they are apt to belie the true circumstances. Besides, impotency cases as seen in Court records are nearly 8 per cent and more of all applications in Matrimonial Suits,⁸ and need particular mention as these cases show that much could be prevented in some and many more cured if they were brought to light at the proper time or with less reserve and both parties would avoid the resentment they feel to each other under the belief that they have been duped into an arranged match. In both cases when husband and wife is responsible for impotency organic or constitutional defects feature more prominently. 'Selective impotency' or cases of 'impotency quae each other', or 'symptomatic frigidity' as in case of females, may arise out of social factors, aversion and forced marriages and lack of sex education which may create tensions and fears.

⁸ In 74 cases i.e. 8.2 per cent of applications made on grounds of impotency, it is interesting to note that 38 women and 36 men are responsible for marriage disruption due to marital disharmony arising from the sexual area. A short table below will indicate impotency due to various factors:

<i>Wives as responsible factor in sexual disharmony</i>		<i>Husbands responsible for sexual disharmony</i>	
Impotency due to:		Impotency due to:	
<i>Physical</i>		<i>Physical</i>	
No vagina	3	Defect	17
Vaginismus	2	Illness	2
No menstruation	2	Disease	2
Not developed	4		
Sterile	4		
TOTAL	15		21
<i>Psychological</i>		<i>Psychological</i>	
Refused to cohabit due to aversion and repugnance to sex act	3	Psychological	4
Refusal, other causes	3	Relative impotency	10
Impotent quae husband	9		
Frigid	2		
	17		14
Vague	6	Vague	1

Making allowances for collusion between parties, which often happens, and for certain cases where there is mutual allegation, one cannot fail to see that some form of sex difficulty, whether purely genuine physical impotency and relative impotency, is at times responsible for the disruption of a union.

If sex difficulties are due to physical disturbances it is made known sooner or later, but on the other hand resentment or inner grievance which gradually arouses conflict works with a vengeance in the total personality, culminating with absence of mutual response and warmth in the most personal area. More often than not the existence of sexual incompatibility or lack of response does not mean that the sex experience is in itself the cause of the difficulty. Other personal expectations may determine the frustration.

Physical deformities or defects which are pronounced, indicate perhaps a complete neglect of pre-marital check-up or a tendency to ignore such defects, falsely hoping that marriage is a panacea for all ills, intensively believing that the marriage state is meant for all as a necessary stage in life, which unfortunately on marriage worsens matters.

It is not only in the psychological aspect or mental spheres but also in the physical or sexual spheres too that marriage essentially means a working compromise between two persons who agree on the fundamental activity concerned by the institution. Whereas physical disability arises and cannot be cured, often is endured patiently by some wives. But progeny is perhaps of vital importance to the couple or their immediate family. In most cases the wife is an unfortunate victim, she is too shy to make the fact known, cannot confide or talk it over, husband ill-treats her, or that this fact may come in the way of her unmarried sisters, are causes which make her endure the marriage. It is doubtful in such cases whether the couples are happy although the fact that they want to terminate the marriage indicates otherwise.

The organic and constitutional defects could, if adequately treated or understood, and if adequate measures were taken in time, prevent such disastrous marriages. As for coital incompatibility arising from a mental barrier or psychological reactions much could be cured since this reaction is only a symptom of some more far-reaching problem which needs intensive investigation.

The personal non-physical area of discord is also significant. "Every individual", says Harriet Mowrer, "enters marriage with

certain potentialities and impediments to adjustment. These 'assets' and 'liabilities' consist in general of ideas of the person as to what constitutes marriage, of habit complexes, and of dominant trends in personality."⁹ Personality defects and personality differentials are hence important because they may become liabilities in marriage and lead to frustrations and tensions to the detriment of the marital union, as we have noted. The personality of every individual consists of a unique organization of persistent, dynamic and socially determined behaviour patterns, but the degree of this organization varies with each individual. The sociogenic and psychogenic traits—the basic components of personality—play an important part in marital interaction. The partner's behaviour, which indeed always forms part of causation in domestic discord, is at times attributed to definite innate weaknesses in himself or herself; these partly inherent traits or constitutional traits arising from one's personal capacity and temperament, if negative, create disruption. Terman has suggested that such differences as arising from temperament are fundamental to happiness or conflict in marriage. Couples patently unhappy have such temperamental qualities "as to be touchy and growchy; to lose their tempers easily; to fight to get their own way; to be critical of others; to be careless of others' feeling; to chafe under discipline or to rebel against orders; to show any dislike they may happen to feel; to be easily affected by praise or blame; to lack self-confidence . . . to be often in a state of excitement; and to alternate between happiness and sadness without apparent cause."¹⁰ These and similar temperamental traits in one of the marital partners make for conflict, unless the other is usually patient and forbearing. At times, adverse behaviour is due to the conditioning by one's 'key integral systems'. In these instances, behaviour problems arising from the individual's life organization call for deeper understanding and explanation and relation between man's inner life and outer conduct. Early maladjustment in childhood and personality complexes built up due to neglect of maternal care and other such emotional deprivation may make for unsteady or irresponsible behaviour and unstable personalities which may impede accommodation.

Marriage is no panacea for such personal ills. Men and women often act in marriage in much the same way as they did before

⁹ Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

¹⁰ L. M. Terman, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

marriage. Women who have evaded responsibility in childhood and adolescence will usually evade responsibility of the family in later life. Those who have solved their difficulties since childhood by flying into a rage or retiring into fretful sulk will not accept overnight the policy of give and take involved in marriage. Those with chronic neurotic illness, or men who have 'solved' their difficulties by getting drunk will not easily accommodate within the marriage. All this does not imply that adjustment does not take place after marriage. Some degree of adaptation is indispensable to any family relationship and the majority of husbands and wives learn it in due course. But the range of this adjustment is limited by the incidents of earlier developments. On the other hand, much discord, for instance, arising from extrafamilial causes, such as those arising from the extended family, economic difficulties etc., may cause intrafamilial frustration, and effect the personality so as to make family life less happy and thus eventually make the spouse unhappy. Conflict and discord visible through temperamental factors and personal reactive behaviour may also tend to symbolize those conflicts of a more deep-seated nature, and effect the inter-personal relationship. Petty quarrels, aversion, indifference, etc. may actually arise from conflict on the sexual level or an infantile development or an immature individual. All intra-familial frustration can be traced eventually to extrafamilial, but not with the same definiteness. "The relations between the husband and wife and the open basis of family conflict are so various that it is often difficult to discover their true genesis. Overt actions are often the only indications of conflict and they are not always reliable."¹¹

Modern man is governed by higher integrated systems specially those connected with social goals and value systems and the like. These are very essential in playing the social and marital roles. The incompatibility arising from such directional traits today are because of the rise and need of certain 'cultural imperatives'. Changing concepts and ideas of the marital relationship require accommodation, integration and equality in practically every sphere such as status, education, interest and outlook.

There is a consciousness set in certain values and 'style of life,' which has called for ego-involvement. This ego ideal refers to the individual's conception of himself as he would 'like' to be, in

¹¹ Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

contrast to the way he 'really' is. Certain examples, for instance, are of individuals who have taken foreign education and try to acquire and cultivate a new mental outlook and social status. But this does not stop here. Such an individual would like his partner to adjust, socially and mentally to his 'climate' more for his social and psychological satisfaction, as his wife becomes an outward symbol of his inner craving. But with the lag that may be already existing and where the partner does not come up to his expectations, there is severe impairment of the ego. Again, currently the individual's choice stresses harmony of inter-personal relationship in areas such as religion, outlook, interest, etc. In inter-communal marriage, incompatibility of opinion on crucial issues of children, religion, family planning practices, etc. and incompatibility stemming from differences in interests and outlooks suggests that all is not so smooth when individuals belonging to two different communities interact in the marriage. But, however, a more detailed and concrete conclusion cannot be arrived at and if deeper investigations were to be carried out, they would bring about some interesting revelations.

It is also observed that along with social and vertical mobility certain new expectations arise and as a sign of prestige the mate wants his partner to keep up all along the line as an asset to his social needs.

However inconsequential such matters may seem, they are important, for in some cases, the marriage although on the decline continues to hold on because of a 'sense of honour'. It is in the slightly higher and educated class that such incompatibility is observed. Incompatibility restricting to personal traits such as age, temperament, etc. is seen in the institutional cases and this *a priori* seems to be once again a group characteristic.

Vices as a personal non-physical, psycho-social factor as expressed in the collected data is through three main traits, drinking, gambling and bad company, which are often impressions of hidden conflicts whose exact nature is as obscure to the sufferers as to their unhappy spouses. "Many such conflicts rise from the murky depths of the unconscious to plague the family in which one or both of the parties may be suffering from difficulties of whose existence they are not aware."¹² "Drink, prostitution and general uncertainty may

¹² H. R. Mowrer, *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord*, pp. 219-20; quoted by Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 660.

characterize the deserting husband. He may be able to escape from his wife, his children, his local community, his friends and even his most casual acquaintances. But he cannot escape from himself."¹³

Infidelity can be classed in the personal and non-physical factors and the data collected clearly indicates that it speedily jeopardizes the success of a marriage probably more than any other factor. Some such extra-marital affairs may be acts of vengeance or outlets for their excessive sexual energy, but, more often than not, unfaithfulness on the part of the husband or the wife is a sign that the marriage is unhappy. The offender tries to find in a new relationship the satisfaction, be it in any form, that his marriage has denied him. This perhaps indicates that often when a husband is unfaithful his wife is partly responsible and vice versa. Still other causes may represent neuroticism and emotional insecurity, with sexual motivation as a secondary factor.*

Some marriage counsellors make a plea for more sympathetic understanding of infidelity instead of the righteous indignation and the quick termination of the marriage in order to save face. The cause may sometimes be corrected and the marriage be saved.

Economic insecurity as a complaint in institutional cases rates high. As economic cases shown by desertion cases at Court, so far as husband is concerned he only makes mention of it, while perhaps he does not want to be the one to blame and projects his hopelessness in some other factors. Unemployment, in most cases is the basic cause for strained relationship. Unemployment brings about a change in the role behaviour of both husband and wife. The wife is forced to introduce domestic economies and accept a temporary decline in status. And often the drastic ego-impairment that the husband suffers is corrosive to the marital union. It is unfortunate that due to dire economic distress the wife at times is used for immoral purposes and her very refusal is the source of annoyance and anxiety and as a source of income lost to the

¹³ Jacob T. Zukerman, 'A Socio-Legal Approach to Family Desertion', *Marriage and Family Living* (Summer, 1950), Vol. XII, pp. 83-84; quoted by Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 511.

* As seen from Court Applications, in 184 cases on grounds of adultery, 110 were those of husbands and 74 of wives, as applicants. However, the cases observed and analysed for this study indicate that extraneous circumstances other than sex itself is a responsible factor in nearly three-fourths of them.

husband. Since in desertion cases the income groups are low, the economic problem looms large for the deserted wife and children. Therefore she is often dependent upon private charity or public relief.

In socio-economic conditions of existence in everyday living much determines the man's existence. His employment, his income, are a necessity and of prestige value to his being. It is not surprising to find that economic insecurity hurts a man's pride and a number of instances where economic trouble is dominant, non-consummation is an additional factor, hence it very often disrupts the personal relationship. In such cases the family circle "becomes the convenient locale within which frustration finds expression, even at the expense of creating family tensions."¹⁴

Living conditions including lack of residential accommodation as they become difficult may work slowly and silently to bring about discord. To those who are sensitive, lack of privacy in a joint family and in overcrowded tenements with no independent room or accommodation is a major handicap. It is not unknown that 10 to 16 members live in a room of 10 ft. × 12 ft. In such cases, it becomes a source of annoyance, and human interaction between members of the family becomes highly strained. Overcrowding sometimes results in personal disorganization. The necessity of protecting oneself from complete invasion of one's privacy develops a defensive attitude, irritability and touchiness, thus making for continual mental stress and producing resentment against others, which in its turn merely heightens the growing tension in a person. There is a distinct mental strain in having to get along with people in such close contact.

There are a few cases where due to forced marriages, or one partner 'duping' the other partner in marriage, aversion is quick to set in and desertion by the injured party is the only alternative to 'escape' such a marriage; in certain instances, parties having certain personal convictions, such as joining a religious order, and such other singular causes may lead to desertion, although any prior dissatisfaction in the marital union which may have existed is not made known.

Whether or not discord has 'a cataclysmic origin', or a 'genetic origin', one thing is certain, and that is, domestic discord is a

¹⁴ E. R. Mowrer, 'War and Family Solidarity and Stability', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (September 1943), Vol. CCXXIX, p. 104; quoted by Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*

matter of growth, a process of summation, which has its beginning considerably removed from the crisis situation in which it becomes conscious and defined.¹⁵ This crisis is brought about by what may be called fortuitous factors or forces which are of little importance in the total situation. In every complex situation there are factors of a fortuitous or conjectural nature which must be taken into account whenever an explanation is sought. These factors may be of so little consequence that they may be neglected without prejudicing one's result, in certain instances. In others, they may constitute the most important factors affecting problems of paramount interest, by reason of their recurring so often as to reduce them to a process which occurs with some sort of regularity.

The family is the focal point for many of the fears, frustrations, and resentments of a complex and frustrated society. The members of the family reflect in their personalities many of the social tensions and conflicts. "Many of the minor tensions in family life", remarks Ernest R. Mowrer, "grow out of the fact that the members of the family become the conventional scapegoats for the hatreds and animosities generated in the communal life of the individual, which, in the interest of maintaining his prestige, his job and the accomplishments of his goal he has had to hold in check." "The family circle", he concludes, "becomes the convenient locale within which these emotions can with some safety find expression even at the expense of producing tensions in family relations."¹⁶ By serving as the repository for the tensions of the frustrating husband and wife the family thereby weakens its own solidarity. The marital couple can resist many corrosive expressions of ill-temper, but their cumulative effect may eventually mean disaster to the individual family.

Desertion and disorganization may be considered in two general senses, both of which have been anticipated in this discussion. Personal conflicts arise primarily out of the personality differences of husband and wife. Social conflicts arise beyond the inner relationships and impinge upon the family group from without. Because of the social nature of personality, these two forms of conflict are not mutually exclusive. Many of the conflicting elements

¹⁵ E. R. Mowrer, *Domestic Discord*, p. 30.

¹⁶ E. R. Mowrer, 'War and Family Solidarity and Stability', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (September 1943), Vol. CCXXIX, p. 104; quoted by Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

in the personal behaviour patterns of husband and wife are closely the result of social and cultural influences. The values that provoke many phases of conflict are produced by the action of social forces outside the individual. Whether open or covert, the underlying forces threatening the stability of the family are essentially similar. Some generate out of the personalities of the marital partners, others reflect more directly the conflicts of the outer world.

The foregoing is a description of marital separations, temporary and permanent through institutional and Court cases. Domestic discord or conflict shows acute stress in one form or the other in the marital relationships. One is curious to know what is the result of such conflict in the cases considered.

It is interesting to know from the collected data that largely an alternative to an unhappy marriage is not the termination of the marriage, but its continuance in whatever truncated form it appears to exist, as parties would, it appears, rather have an unhappy marriage than put an end to it. In Court cases, the parties do not really want to terminate a marital union. This conclusion is arrived at, since it is noticed that nearly 22.5 per cent and more withdraw their petitions or the petition is allowed to be dismissed for non-prosecution. This is for purposes of record, the real reason not being known. The other picture is that in nearly 24.38 per cent of the cases the relief prayed for is granted *ex parte*. It is probable that in certain cases of collusion, *ex parte* decrees are obtained, but it may also be that at times a party has become so desperate by putting up with a disharmonious and dejected state of matrimony that he or she welcomes the relief and does not wish to contest the petition. But such cases are few. It may also be, with the passage of time, there is a genuine wish of the parties to be reconciled. The cases of dismissal of suits for reasons not always specified are at most times probably due to reconciliation between the parties, although it is not unknown that couples are persuaded to seek community divorce, this course being cheaper, easier and quicker. In this case, they do not hesitate to withdraw their petitions or get them dismissed; but such cases are comparatively few. A dismissal of the suit as aforesaid is also suggestive of the fact that the parties are uncertain and hesitate to take the fatal decision to dissolve the union. Of the applicants for restitution of conjugal rights, 12.13 per cent show that parties are more reluctant to dissolve the union and would like to make an effort at reconciliation.

Table 11

NATURE OF RELIEF SOUGHT BY COUPLES COMING TO COURT

Nature of relief sought	G	GE	P	R	G to OP	D	D1	D2	W	Respective percentages to the total								
										G	GE	P	R	G to OP	D	D1	D2	W
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Nullity (N)	30	19	20	2	1	3	8	13	—	3.34	2.12	2.23	0.22	0.11	0.34	0.91	1.45	—
Judicial separation (J)	114	71	54	2	1	18	12	36	12	12.76	7.71	6.04	0.22	0.11	2.01	1.34	4.04	1.34
Divorce (D)	115	118	44	—	2	9	12	58	14	12.87	13.92	4.92	—	0.22	1.01	1.34	6.50	1.56
Restitution of conjugal rights (RC)	23	10	33	1	1	7	2	21	8	2.57	1.44	3.70	0.11	0.11	0.77	0.22	2.30	0.91
TOTAL	282	218	151	5	5	37	34	128	34	31.54	24.38	16.89	0.55	0.55	4.13	3.81	14.31	3.81

G = Granted; GE = Granted *ex parte*; P = Pending; R = Rejected; G to OP = Granted to opposite party; D = Dismissed for default of appearance; D1 = Dismissed, case not made out; D2 = Dismissed for want of prosecution; W = Withdrawn.
 Total number of cases 894 = 100.00 per cent.

In desertion cases from the institution, as we have seen, reconciliation is very welcome. The records indicate from the outcome of the cases that reconciliation was envisaged or contemplated by the parties. Although complete data as to the apparent outcome in most of the cases is not available, due to case-work being very recent, in 33.7 per cent of cases of the institution recordings, we observe the other apparent outcome of the efforts of the institution and of the social workers.

Table 12

THE APPARENT OUTCOME OF CASES

<i>Apparent outcome</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Reconciled	54	43.6
Chances of reconciliation	25	20.2
Legal proceedings considered	23	18.5
Gone to the relations, become economically independent or prosecuting further studies	15	12.1
Discharged from the institution	7	5.6
TOTAL	124	100.0

Thus 43.6 per cent of cases are actually reconciled and in 20.2 per cent of the cases there were chances of reconciliation. In a few instances, it is noted that they return to the institution and that is in cases where the follow-up is not intense or counselling is not adequate. It may also be that the conflict is too acute, unbearable and recurrent. Legal proceedings in certain circumstances are resorted to and a few of them do make up during the pendency of the proceedings. Of those who genuinely wish to terminate the union, or where after several attempts the partners have failed to be reconciled, these legal proceedings become imperative. But in these cases, as experience shows, the technicalities and formalities of the law overlook immediate and effective functioning and reliefs and hence various difficulties are experienced in trying to rehabilitate the young wives. An indefinite and uncertain waiting period brings in its wake other problems and other evils and the

deserted wives become victims to vice and disease. Lesbianism and traumatic diseases are cases in instance. The proverbial law's delay is a serious handicap—looking at it not only from the legal but from the social point of view and is not contributive to happiness. It thus aborts the essence of social welfare, indirectly leading to frustration, in which case the wives at times abandon the institution and commit suicide or are used for immoral traffic.¹⁷

A new trend is also visible, viz., that a few of them may become economically independent and go for higher studies in order to become economically self-sufficient. To sum up, the present attempt of social workers at helping couples in marital discord (distress) and family welfare indicates an effort in utilizing their personal skill and material resources at their disposal in an awakened field of social welfare, namely, that of aiding inter-personal relationship within the family and helping the individual family against crisis situations arising from present-day living. As far as technicalities in handling the situation are concerned, much still remains to be done.

¹⁷ cf. This writer's article, "Marital Separations"—Disorganization as Seen Through an Agency', *Indian Sociological Bulletin*, March 1964, Vol. XIII, No. 1.

Part Two

MARRIAGE ON THE HORIZON

The inner world within is never absolutely sundered from the outer, and the fulfilment of an interior self is never possible except through the delicate utilization of the bonds between the inner and the outer.

—GARDNER MURPHY, *Human Potentialities*

MARRIAGE ON THE HORIZON

EVERY GENERATION has its peculiar traits and modes of life which find their way even into the marriage relationship. The institution of marriage is fundamental to life, because it is founded in the biological needs of *homo sapiens*. St Paul exhorted the Corinthians thus, "It is better to marry than to be burnt."¹ The pitfalls and pangs of married life have not deterred people from marrying nor have the unresolved difficulties and fears hampered or prevented the creation of new relationships. This is perhaps because of the fact that there exists in every human being an emotional affinity to marriage, unconsciously established in early childhood. Every member of a generation that enters into the state of matrimony does so in the radiant hope that the marriage relationship will be blessed with the fruits which one expects out of it and that the partners to the bond will find fulfilment of their human nature.

Most societies consider marital life to be the most desirable type of existence for adults and hence encourage marriage; and although they may differ in details, they advocate a relatively stable union between two or more persons. But by and large monogamy is favoured. Marriage is the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others. Couples who marry usually do so with the idea of the permanence of the union, "for better or for worse, in sickness or in health". The conceptions and ideas about marriage and the individual's attitude towards them vary with the kind of societies and with the times in which one lives. The individual's approach to marriage is not without its trappings, because this approach is interwoven with his past and is conditioned by the early years of his upbringing, training and preparation for life's struggle and is a product of conventions, conceptions, traditions, inhibitions and partly his

¹ St Paul to the Corinthians, *First Epistle*, Chap. 7, ver. 9.

native endowments; and all these affect his subsequent attitude towards marriage.

There is an enormous amount of literature on love, courtship and the youth's attitude to them, which shows the importance that is attached to preparation for the married state. It is a phenomenon wherein expectancy of youth is crystallized in a new experience for which it is looking forward and in most Western countries prepares for it from childhood. The adult enters the new phase of life in the belief that it will be an enriching experience. Courtship in the West is a vital factor in the pre-marital period and it is the essence of the particular relationship that subsists during this period. In recent years, courtship, love, marriage and parenthood have been taken very seriously in the Western countries as matters of systematic observations, research and study; and studies in the field have gone so far as to predict happiness and unhappiness in marriage in terms of scores and prediction tests based on a study of the courtship period. Our society with its backdrop of traditional mores and in its transitory phase has not advanced so far and we cannot lay any claim to have made any of such studies. "Contemporary courtship is still developing and its elements are still incomplete, unaccepted by society and in a state of transition",² although said of America, is equally true of India.

Marriage is a proof of a willingness to accept life fully. It shows a readiness to accept responsibility, though the individual does not always prove mature enough to stand up to it. The story which ends with marriage after which the couple 'live happily ever after' should be recognized for the fairy tale which it is. It is not uncommon that differences arise in marriage and may aggravate it in the absence of handling of the situation sympathetically and with knowledge. With the growing complexity of civilized life, these differences not only tend to grow but they also make adjustment difficult. In our metropolitan cities these differences have to be noted as having a distinctive character. Being as we are in a transitory stage, we suffer from the disadvantage that although technically we consider ourselves as advanced, in the sphere of marriage, we still hark back upon age-old customs and prejudices. It would seem that we welcome anachronisms in the sphere of

² Donald L. Taylor, 'Courtship as a Social Institution in the United States, 1930 to 1945', *Social Forces* (October 1946), Vol. XXV, p. 69.

marriage. There is a perennial struggle between the two forces, namely, individuals making new demands in every sphere of life's activity and others trying to resist those demands in the irrational belief that such demands are not justified by the social milieu. This phenomenon is typical of the times, which are of a transitory nature and is very evident in metropolitan cities. This is largely due to one's cultural outlook which in itself contains the conflicting demands of modern ways on the one hand and inhibitions which are traditionally motivated on the other. The individual wants a modern life and yet is not equipped adequately for it.

We have to understand this phenomenon in all its implications in the psychological and emotional spheres; and when we understand it, it will lay bare one of the main sociological factors, and this understanding will finally lead to the relieving of the tension and the pressure under which youth lives today. The social milieu in our country is to a great extent orthodox and conservative, which has been the cause of a mental lag. The struggle is perpetually going on within the individual who is conscious of the old ideas falling short of the new, and he is fully aware that he would have to, and circumstances urge him to, fall in line with new ideas. We may ask ourselves whether it is not necessary in a 'planning' era to make adequate preparation for proper family living.

When reflecting on the need of sex education, it would be well worth asking ourselves if we are yet prepared for it, and for enlightened family living. Is preparation for marriage considered by us as of dubious benefit? It does seem that we are not prepared to fully accept the implications of both. Our orthodox mentality is responsible for the doubts and fears that we entertain in this regard. Could proper family living or rather enlightened family living and adequate preparation and planning then possibly avoid deviations and maladjustments in the future potential families? These and similar questions are posited before us. It is in this setting that the study made in this part will have to be viewed, which is an attempt to give an insight into what is commonly called youth's aspirations and frustrations.

Part Two thus deals with some of the conceptions and beliefs of modern young people who are looking forward to marriage as revealed by the data collected from questionnaires returned by 304 respondents. The questionnaire was prepared with a view to elicit from those to whom it was given, their views on sex, courtship

and marriage and to assess their attitudes thereon. It was designed with a view to pinpoint certain tendencies and so-called truths prevalent in our social fabric and to ascertain from the enlightened and informed section of the community its conclusions in that behalf. The questionnaire was distributed to students in various colleges in Bombay at their graduation stage. It was also distributed to a number of graduates and non-graduates in employment in the city who have been classed as non-students in this study. It may however be mentioned that originally it was proposed to obtain a random sample of 500 questionnaires equally distributed amongst students and non-students; but all of them did not respond as expected. Although at first they appeared to be quite enthusiastic, there seemed to be a certain amount of hesitancy and at times even reluctance on their part to return the questionnaire duly answered. The embarrassment shown by some of them was typical of the attitude engendered by taboo, coupled with a show of innocence, when they would rather be reticent than express themselves freely. The possibility cannot of course be ruled out that some did not wish to disclose anything as the questions were of a personal nature despite the fact that the name was not required to be mentioned and the assurance that the answers would remain strictly confidential. It is indeed a great pity that the scientific attitude is wanting in us. The questionnaire was drawn up on a very conservative basis, and a number of questions which normally could have been included were deliberately omitted as not to appear unduly bold, which perhaps was for the better. Otherwise, it is doubtful if even the present response would have been forthcoming.

Out of the 900 copies of the questionnaire distributed, inclusive of the 500 for the proposed random sample, only one-third were returned, some of them fully and some partly answered. The response such as it is can be traced to the fact that we seldom act according to our protestations and the gap between what we profess and what we perform is very wide. We like to appear as being forward, but actually we are not as forward as we wish to be. It is a moot question whether we have changed our ideas in matters of sex, marriage and family looking at them in juxtaposition with our ideals. It is a far cry from tendency to truth. The crux of the matter is that, in spite of the enlightened sections of our society entertaining modern views on and taking up attitudes in

questions of love, sex and marriage, inhibitions still play a major role and embarrassment is not eschewed.

The random sample of this study does not claim to be strictly representative of the situation as objectively it is, due to the nature of the response and the shortcomings associated with this type of data-collection in our country. Nevertheless, even the limited data at hand is invaluable inasmuch as it reflects the views, values and thoughts of the present generation on the question of marriage and the answers to the related questions indicate attitudes and values which bear testimony not only to the prevailing patterns of marriage and family life, but which may also exercise a significant influence in forming new patterns and building a value system in future. These attitudes and values have their sources in experience of individuals in family, religious upbringing, school, and the models to which they are exposed to through the literature, the movies, the radio and the press. But regardless of their origin, it is to these attitudes and values that we must turn to, to understand the outlook characteristic of marriage as it obtains in our society today.

The first chapter of Part Two, gives the description of the sample and the environment, examining certain facts of life in the light of youth's training and certain events in his life in the context of this environment.

If youth on entering into marriage comes to believe that the aim of marriage is the attainment of happiness and not so much the status or wealth of the partner or social position of the partner, then courtship has a meaning and a purpose. The machinery of courtship in the broader concept of its preparation for marriage and its attitude towards it serves an overall functionalism. Chapter V, consequently, deals with engagement and courtship, assesses pre-marital sex life, mate-selection, changing mores of sex and love with a view to an appreciation of youth's preparedness, individually and quae the family to accept its responsibilities in marriage devoid of diffidence, mental reservations and other inhibiting elements whilst on the threshold of a new experience in human relationship.

The concluding chapter of this Part, Chapter VI, reveals the trends and prospects of marriage and gives an insight into the ideology of marriage and family in our present day society.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESPONDENTS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

YOUTH IS THE BORDERLINE between adolescence and maturity, when the turbulence of the former state has not fully abated and there is still a long way off to the latter. It is the period of crystallization of aspirations of one stage and the beginning of new ones vaguely felt or understood. Hence, the tension in the individual, who

becomes a victim to forces that have been built up in the past and yet not knowing his future prospect. For youth is the time product of the individual's upbringing and all that has transpired during his adolescence, and in the course of which, events have left their impress on him. Yet it is not beyond him, during his mental, moral and cultural development in youth to be able to fight off the handicaps and unsalutary influences that jeopardize his well-being. Youth, therefore, is an arena of strife, and the conflict which is reflected in youth is to be understood in the context of the environment and the shaping and moulding by the institutions with which youth has to deal. Youth is to be seen in its activities, social relations and its relations with the social institutions. "Conflict between the adolescent and his world is dialectical, and leads, as a higher synthesis, to the youth's own adulthood and to critical participation in society as an adult. Some of the experiences of adolescence which turn out to be most beneficial to growth are, it is true, painful at the time."¹

¹ E. Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent* (New York: Dell Publishing Co. Inc., 1962).

The analysis and presentation in Part Two are based on the response of 304 young people inclusive of students and non-students to the questionnaire already mentioned.

Table 1

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN
RESPONDENTS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Category	Men	Per cent	Women	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Students	72	42.35	98	57.65	170	55.92
Non-Students	84	62.69	50	37.31	134	44.08
TOTAL	156		148		304	100.00

The students in the above sample comprise 55.92 per cent of the respondents who replied to the questionnaire; 42.35 per cent among them being men and 57.65 per cent being women; a large majority being at the graduation stage. The remaining 44.08 per cent are non-students, among whom 62.69 per cent are men and 37.31 per cent are women respondents, who are mostly in service in the city or have taken up to some profession.

Age Distribution

"Formal age categorization constitutes an important connecting and organizing point of reference."² Accordingly, the age and sex distribution of the respondents comprising our sample is given below.

Table 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

Age-group	Students				Non-Students			
	Men	Women	Combined	Per cent	Men	Women	Combined	Per cent
17-23	51	97	148	87.0	24	26	50	37.4
24-30	21	1	22	13.0	54	20	74	55.2
31-37	--	--	--	--	6	4	10	7.4
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

² Talcott Parsons, 'Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States', *American Sociological Review*, 1942, Vol 7, p. 604.

Of the 170 students who have mentioned their age, 148 or 87.0 per cent come within the age-group of 17-23 years, and 22 or 13.0 per cent come within the age-group of 24-30 years, the median age of the students being 20.52 years.

Among 134 non-students, who have stated their ages, 50 or 37.4 per cent come within the age-group of 17-23 years, 74 or 55.2 per cent come within the age-group of 24-30 years, and 7.4 per cent from the age-group of 31-37 years, the median age of the non-students being 25.11 years. It is obvious that non-students predominate in the second age-group. Very few from among the comparatively higher age-group of 31-37 years have responded, as some of them were hesitant and reluctant and also because of the fact that very few remain unmarried at that age.

Education

Education has an important bearing on the total personality and is a pointer to the influence which it exercises in forming and coming to conclusions on and in taking up a particular attitude towards important issues under examination. The details pertaining to education of the respondents are tabulated below:

Table 3

THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

<i>Education</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Non-Students</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	
			<i>Students</i>	<i>Non-Students</i>
Undergraduation stage	—	23		17.16
Graduation stage	170	82	100.0	61.19
Postgraduation stage	—	27		20.15
Not mentioned	—	2		1.50
TOTAL	170	134	100.0	100.00

So far as students are concerned, the questionnaire was distributed mainly among those who have reached the junior and senior graduation stages. As for non-students, they represent various levels of education, as the Table shows. Those at the undergraduate level, inclusive of those who have completed high school, and a few at inter-university level form 17.16 per cent of the non-students.

61.19 per cent are graduates and even double graduates, while 20.15 per cent have received higher education, i.e., postgraduate education. Of the respondents, 1.5 per cent have not given particulars of their education.

Community Composition

The personality processes involved in attitude formation are closely related to adaptive devices by which an individual comes to occupy a given position in any group or groups which take a characteristic attitude towards the issue in question. Hence, how personality functions as social attitudes are developed to particular issues within a group, is very significant.

Table 4

THE COMMUNITY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

<i>Community</i>	<i>Students</i>			<i>Non-Students</i>		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Com- bined</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Com- bined</i>
Maharashtrian Brahmins	16	12	28 (16.6%)	25	5	30 (22.5%)
Other Maharashtrians	11	9	20 (11.8%)	12	4	16 (12.0%)
Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana	11	13	24 (14.2%)	3	2	5 (3.9%)
Other Hindus	20	38	58 (34.2%)	14	11	25 (18.8%)
Jains	2	4	6 (3.5%)	1	1	2 (1.2%)
Muslims	5	5	10 (5.8%)	8	3	11 (8.4%)
Parsees	2	9	11 (6.4%)	6	10	16 (12.0%)
Christians	3	5	8 (4.7%)	12	13	25 (18.8%)
Jews	—	1	1 (0.5%)	3	1	4 (2.4%)
Not stated	2	2	4 (2.3%)	—	—	—
TOTAL	72	98	170 (100.0%)	84	50	134 (100.0%)

The community composition of the students is as follows: Maharashtrian Brahmins 16.6 per cent, other Maharashtrians 11.8 per cent, Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana 14.2 per cent and other Hindus 32.2 per cent. Hence, the total composition of the Hindu community alone is 76.8 per cent and the remaining 23.2 per cent is distributed thus: Jains 3.5 per cent, Muslims 5.8 per cent, Parsees 6.4 per cent, Christians 4.7 per cent, Jews 0.5 per cent; the remaining 2.3 per cent did not specify to which community they belong and hence remain unclassified.

Among the non-students, the community distribution is as follows: Maharashtrian Brahmins 22.5 per cent, other Maharashtrians 12.0 per cent, Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana 3.9 per cent, other Hindus 18.8 per cent, i.e., the total Hindu community constitutes 57.2 per cent and the remaining 42.8 per cent is distributed thus: Jains 1.2 per cent, Muslims 8.4 per cent, Parsees 12.0 per cent, Christians 18.8 per cent and Jews 2.4 per cent.

It will be observed in both cases, that is, students and non-students, the Hindu section predominates, the number of Maharashtrians being greater than the Gujaratis and the Kutchi Lohana. The distribution of the others communitywise is commensurate with their numbers.

Occupation

Only a negligible proportion of our student sample belongs to the category of students who are earning and learning. Hence no separate Table has been provided as regards occupation of students. Only 15 i.e. 8.8 per cent of our sample are employed, their occupation being: business 2, profession 1, skilled jobs 10, so-called service 2.

A Table for the non-students is drawn up to show their occupational distribution (see Table 5, p. 111).

The occupational Table depicts that 15.5 per cent are in the professional category whilst 37.3 per cent are in the other highly skilled professions, 15.0 per cent are in skilled occupations, 2.2 per cent are in business, 15.0 per cent have just mentioned service without specifying its nature and 15 per cent have not mentioned their occupation at all.

Religion

Religion may either take an organized form or it may be a way

Table 5
OCCUPATION OF MEN AND WOMEN NON-STUDENT
RESPONDENTS

<i>Occupational status</i>	<i>Non-Students</i>		<i>Combined total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>		
Profession inclusive of medical, engineering, legal, teaching	13	8	21	15.5
Business	3	--	3	2.2
Other very highly skilled or other professions	33	17	50	37.3
Skilled	7	13	20	15.0
Service	18	2	20	15.0
Not mentioned	10	10	20	15.0
TOTAL	84	50	134	100.0

of life. In either case religious beliefs and practices have a profound influence in creating mental attitudes and forming ideas and in moulding the character and destiny of the individual. The significance of the role of religion in life cannot be over-emphasized since religion affects the very fibre of one's being and forms the basis of the individual's attitude to life and to personal and social problems. Many a time is witnessed a conflict between the religious moral and social codes and it is not surprising to find how much they are at variance. One of the questions which arises is how best to reconcile them in the interest of society.

Out of 170 students 103 or 60.6 per cent have said that they practise their religion, 10.0 per cent have said that they do not practise it, while 17.0 per cent have not mentioned whether they practise their religion or not. There are 12.4 per cent who say that, "I have tried to practise it", "not strictly", "not very sincerely", "as far as possible", "somewhat", "not when I can help it", "not as an orthodox", "seldom", "in a way", "when forced to," "on certain occasions", and so on. It would be presumptuous to go behind these words and phrases except to say, at the risk of an understatement that they are non-committal at the least, and in a few cases, while not practicing, not altogether willing to admit it.

Evidently, among students, most of them practise their religion, and some very fervently. But in every community, it was noticed that there are some who view religion in a different perspective,

Table

RELIGION AS PRACTISED BY STUDENT

Community	Students							
	Yes		No		Somewhat		Not mentioned	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Christians	2	4	—	—	—	—	1	1
Parsees	2	7	—	—	—	1	—	1
Jews	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	3	3	2	—	—	1	—	1
Jains	1	3	—	—	1	—	—	1
Maharashtrian Brahmins	10	7	—	—	3	—	3	5
Other Maharashtrians	6	5	3	2	—	1	2	1
Sikhs and Punjabis	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Madrasis	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bengalis	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nairs	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Reddy	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
U.P.	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rajputs	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sindhis	4	20	1	—	4	2	—	3
Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana	4	5	3	2	4	3	3	—
Hindus (broadly stated)	4	5	1	—	—	—	1	1
Not stated	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Combined TOTAL	103		17		21		29	
Percentage of TOTAL	(60.6)		(10.0)		(12.4)		(17.0)	

6

AND NON-STUDENT RESPONDENTS

<i>Non-Students</i>							
<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Somewhat</i>		<i>Not mentioned</i>	
<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
9	12	2	1	—	—	1	—
2	6	1	3	1	—	2	1
3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
6	3	2	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
17	5	1	—	—	—	6	—
6	3	4	—	1	1	1	—
2	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
2	1	—	—	1	1	—	1
1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
2	—	1	—	—	—	—	5
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
88 (65.9)		15 (11.1)		9 (6.7)		22 (16.3)	

i.e., they do not too strictly or rigidly follow or observe the rites, rituals and ceremonies, perhaps though, they conform to the practices when occasion demands.

Among non-students too, 65.9 per cent say that they practise their religion, 16.3 per cent have not said anything, 11.1 per cent say that they do not practise it, whilst 6.7 per cent say, "somewhat", "not quite actively", "not very particular about it", "to some extent", and phrases in a similar vein.

What has been recorded above is a description of the sample of the respondents. But this is not enough. In most cases, the family is the very archstone of the individual's upbringing—culturally, socially or otherwise. It is hence important to obtain some facts bearing on this intimate primary group—the family. This primary group is the basic influencing factor during the most significant and crucial years of the individual's early childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Hence it is necessary to see the components of the primary group and its environment, irrespective of the secondary institutions with which one gets intimately acquainted in course of the years. In the circumstances, the data that follows will deal with the immediate environment and influences in which the respondents have been brought up, and this step is warranted by reason of the fact that their present attitudes cannot be taken apart from their early indoctrination or instruction or the absence or neglect of it.

Certain questions, therefore, have been asked in that behalf to elicit information. A question was asked as to the marital status of the parents.³ It is significant that in the whole sample only one couple was separated, and that too, in the case of the parents of a Muslim student. The fact that there is no divorced couple or separated couple is eloquent of a characteristic of our society, namely, the uncommonness of divorce or separation so far. Of course, there are couples separated by death and these form 18.8 per cent (i.e. 32) in the case of students and 23.1 per cent (i.e. 31) in the case of non-students.

The education and occupational status of the parents have been noted (*see* Table 7, p. 115) as they largely reflect the social and cultural status of the parties under discussion.

It is seen that 33.5 per cent have not mentioned their father's education. Information from the remaining 67.5 per cent who

³ Vide the Questionnaire (Appendix II-B).

Table 7
THE EDUCATION OF THE PARENTS OF STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS

<i>Educational status</i>	<i>Students</i>			<i>Non-Students</i>		
	<i>Father's education</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Mother's education</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Father's education</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Primary to high school	26	15.4	37	31.8	13	9.8
S.S.C. to undergraduate	33	19.5	17	10.0	23	17.1
Graduate	41	24.1	13	7.7	32	23.8
Postgraduate and higher	9	5.2	2	1.1	5	3.8
No education—informal education only	4	2.3	7	4.1	5	3.8
Not mentioned	57	33.5	94	55.3	56	41.7
TOTAL	170	100.0	170	100.0	134	100.0

have mentioned their parents' education indicates that of the fathers, 24.1 per cent are graduates, 5.2 per cent have higher education, while 37.2 per cent are undergraduates. In brief, 15.4 per cent have primary to high school education, 19.5 per cent have s.s.c. to intermediate education and 2.3 per cent have informal education, that is, education not received through educational institutions. Of the students who stated their mother's education, 7.7 per cent are graduates, 1.1 per cent had higher education, 25.9 per cent have had undergraduate education, i.e., 21.8 per cent have studied from primary to high school, 10.0 per cent have taken s.s.c. to intermediate examinations and 4.1 per cent had only a formal education. The remaining 55.3 per cent have not mentioned their parents' education.

In the case of non-students who have mentioned their parents' education, 41.7 per cent have not stated father's education. Of the remaining 58.3 per cent who have stated father's education, the educational status is as follows: 23.8 per cent are graduates only, 3.8 per cent have had higher education, 9.8 per cent have had primary to high school education, 17.1 per cent have taken s.s.c. to intermediate examinations, and 3.8 per cent have had informal or no education, that is, 30.7 per cent are of the undergraduate status. In the case of mother's education, only 2.9 per cent are graduates, 9 have received higher education. 50.6 per cent have had undergraduate education, that is, 17.1 per cent have had primary to high school education, 11.2 per cent have taken s.s.c. to intermediate examinations, while 2.3 per cent have had informal education, 65.6 per cent have not mentioned their father's education.

In the sample of both students and non-students the education of parents in most cases is of the undergraduate level, while only a very few are graduates, and a negligible number have had very high education. Perhaps, the large section comprising of those who have not mentioned their parents' education would lead one to infer that their parents do not have much education or a degree which they can mention.

Generally speaking, a degree is considered as a hallmark of education and it cannot be gainsaid that often it is a potential influence that leads to breadth of vision and broadening of one's outlook on life. Parents' education is not the only medium through which influencing and training of the young can take place, as background and antecedents of their parents in the family of

orientation, irrespective of the education or position or status acquired in an occupation, will have an even more far-reaching influence on the children's immediate environment. In our sample, the mothers in most cases have little or no formal education, except informal or conventional domestic training and their activity is perhaps chiefly confined to household duties. It is doubtful, save as aforesaid, whether they exert any substantial intellectual influence on, or train their children who perhaps may have to look to outside guidance, for instance, from educational institutions or other sources. Perhaps the father may be the only person with whom the son or daughter can discuss matters. This, too, is doubtful specially in our society.

Occupation of parents is noted here as it tends to exert influence on children, either remotely or immediately according to circumstances. 'As a way of life', it creates a framework wherein one's attitudes and dealings may be conditioned or expanded. It may make for either a conservative or a liberal attitude which in turn affects those in close proximity and those who are subject to their guidance.

Table 8

OCCUPATION OF PARENTS OF STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS

<i>Occupational status of parents</i>	<i>Students</i>		<i>Non-Students</i>	
	<i>Father's occupation</i>	<i>Mother's occupation</i>	<i>Father's occupation</i>	<i>Mother's occupation</i>
Professional	20 (18.0%)	2	17 (26.1%)	—
Business	40 (35.6%)	—	11 (16.9%)	—
Agriculture	5 (4.5%)	—	5 (7.7%)	2
Other professional or highly skilled	18 (16.4%)	—	9 (13.9%)	4
Skilled	3 (2.8%)	—	3 (4.7%)	—
Service not specified	21 (19.0%)	—	15 (23.0%)	2
Retired or unemployed	4 (3.7%)	—	5 (7.7%)	—
Household	—	17	—	14
TOTAL	111 (100.0%)	19	65 (100.0%)	22

From Table 8 (p. 117) on occupation, we see that only 111 or 65.3 per cent of the students have mentioned father's occupation, viz., 20 or 18.0 per cent are professional people, 40 or 35.6 per cent are business people, 5 or 4.5 per cent depend on agriculture, 18 or 16.4 per cent belong to other professions, 3 or 2.8 per cent are skilled and 21 or 19.0 per cent are in service, its nature not being specified, 4 or 3.7 per cent are retired. Regarding mother's occupation, only 11.1 per cent of the students have mentioned their occupation. It is not surprising that most of the mothers enjoy only the status of a housewife or householder's position.

Among non-students, too, 48.6 per cent have mentioned father's occupation while only 16.4 per cent have mentioned mother's occupation and here also we find that they are predominantly occupied in domestic chores. From the replies of the 65 or 48.6 per cent who have mentioned father's occupation, it is found that 17 or 26.1 per cent are professional, 11 or 16.9 per cent are in business, 5 or 7.7 per cent practise agriculture, 9 or 13.9 per cent are engaged in other professions. 3 or 4.7 per cent skilled, 15 or 23.0 per cent service, the nature of which is not specified, 5 or 7.7 per cent retired. And from the replies of 16.4 per cent or 22 who have mentioned mother's occupation, it is found that 14 are engaged in household duties, 4 are highly skilled, 2 are dependent on agriculture and 2 are in service.

Measuring the happiness of a marriage, or of a home is not easy. No carping criticism need be levelled at the respondents who were asked to rate the marital happiness of their parents and have not been able to do it adequately. For, happiness is subjective and it is difficult to make any judgment or estimation of it. Evaluation of a successful marriage in terms of happiness of its partners can however be made. The question was not put with the end in view which the modern tests have, namely, to infer happiness adjustment ratings between the couple, but to give an overall picture of the atmosphere in the home, assuming that the happiness of the parents is reflected largely in the home environment and often has an immediate influence on personality development, attitudes and outlook of children, which in their turn may have adverse or beneficent influence, as the case may be, in outward action and also determine extrovert and introvert traits in their character. The respondents who presumably have lived for the most part of their lives in their homes, should well be aware of the currents

and cross-currents of thought and behaviour that create the family 'tone'. They may fail to trace or discover some unhappiness in the father or mother which is tactfully concealed or subtly blended with other personality elements. But, ultimately, it is not how much unhappiness is unrevealed, but what the respondents think is the degree of happiness in their homes as reflected through the parents with which the questionnaire was concerned. It is the happiness pervading in the home which they associate with their parents and the family during their tutelage, that will determine their criteria of what constitutes marital happiness.

Table 9

MARITAL HAPPINESS OF PARENTS OF STUDENTS AND
NON-STUDENTS

<i>Marital happiness</i>	<i>Students combined</i>	<i>Non-Students combined</i>
Extremely happy	44 (25.9%)	29 (21.7%)
Happy	84 (49.5%)	54 (40.4%)
Moderately happy	22 (12.9%)	31 (23.2%)
Unhappy	3 (1.7%)	2 (1.4%)
Somewhat unhappy	6 (3.5%)	4 (2.9%)
Extremely unhappy	—	4 (2.9%)
Not mentioned	11 (6.5%)	10 (7.5%)
TOTAL	170 (100.0%)	134 (100.0%)

In Table 9, only 6.5 per cent and 7.5 per cent respectively of students and non-students have not replied to the question. The rest of the students and non-students have rated the happiness of their parents respectively at 25.9 per cent and 21.7 per cent, 49.5 per cent and 40.4 per cent and 12.9 per cent and 23.2 per cent as extremely happy, happy and moderately happy respectively. Only 5.2 per cent and 4.3 per cent of students and non-students state that the parents are somewhat unhappy. Among non-students

it is found that 2.9 per cent of them mentioning extremely unhappy parents. By and large, then, the conclusion is that the homes from which the respondents come are happy homes.

The question that was asked in order to obtain from the respondents information about their immediate environment to ascertain their reaction to them was: "Is your home environment orthodox, conventional or advanced?"

Of the students who have mentioned their home environment, 47.6 per cent stated that theirs was a conventional environment, 25.8 per cent that theirs was an advanced environment, and 7.8 per cent that theirs was an orthodox environment. Of the last described, 13 i.e. 7.8 per cent, 4 are Sindhis, 2 Maharashtrian Brahmins, 2 other Maharashtrians, 1 Hindu (broadly stated), 2 Christians, 1 Muslim and 1 Gujarati.

Of those who have said that their environment is advanced, 4 are Maharashtrian Brahmins, 5 other Maharashtrians, 7 Gujarati and Kutchi Lohana, 3 Jains, 3 Parsees, 2 Christians, 1 Jew, 2 Muslims. Other Hindus inclusive of Bengalis 2, Sikh and Punjabi 1 each, Sindhis 11, Nair 1 (broadly stated), Hindus 2. Nearly 80 per cent of those who have stated that their home environment was advanced, had parents who were in the professions, in business, and they were usually well-educated.

Besides these, there are 14.1 per cent who are in a 'transitory environment'. They are chary about stating that they belong to any one type of environment. It is, hence, interesting to note that some of the respondents have stated that their environment is a combination either of. "conventional and advanced", "orthodox and conventional", "orthodox and advanced". Others state. "neither orthodox nor conventional but not so advanced", "orthodox in marriage views", "more or less conventional", "advanced with symbols of orthodoxy", "liberal—neither orthodox nor conventional", "little more than conventional", "rather advanced", "moderately advanced", "conventionally advanced", and "conservative with an indication to be progressive". The persons giving expression to these phrases mostly are the Maharashtrian Brahmins, other Maharashtrians, Kutchi Lohana, Sindhis, Parsees and Muslims.

Of the non-students who have answered the above question, 56.8 per cent say they have a conventional home environment, 11.2 per cent say advanced, 12.6 per cent orthodox, while 14.1 per cent say it is a combination of, "orthodox and conventional",

Table 10
HOME ENVIRONMENT OF RESPONDENTS

Community	Students					Non-Students				
	Orthodox	Conven- tional	Advanced	Combina- tion	Not stated	Orthodox	Conven- tional	Advanced	Combina- tion	Not stated
Maharashtrian Brahmins	2	14	4	5	3	1	22	3	4	—
Other Maharashtrians	2	10	5	3	—	2	8	1	5	—
Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana	1	11	7	3	2	—	3	1	1	—
Jains	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Other Hindus										
Bengalis	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
Sikhs and Punjabis	—	—	1	1	—	—	3	1	2	—
Sindhis	4	15	11	4	—	1	—	1	1	—
Nairs	—	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Madrasis	—	1	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—
Hindus (broadly stated)	1	4	2	3	2	1	5	—	—	2
Rajputs	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
U.P.	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Reddy	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Parsees	—	7	3	1	—	2	10	3	1	—
Christians	2	4	2	—	—	5	14	1	4	1
Jews	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	1	—	—
Muslims	1	5	2	2	—	3	4	3	—	1
Community not stated	—	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	13	81	44	24	8	17	76	15	19	7
Percentage to the TOTAL	(7.8)	(47.6)	(25.8)	(14.1)	(4.7)	(12.6)	(56.8)	(11.2)	(14.1)	(5.3)

“conventional and advanced”, “conventional and slightly advanced”, “neither orthodox nor advanced”.

In our country we have a conglomeration of communities, the stage or degree of advancement of each of them being different from the rest. To take an example, orthodox and conventional patterns differ from each other. The Hindu Brahmins and other classes of Maharashtrians along with Kutchi Lohanas are deviating from the very rigid and strictly orthodox path. They are smarting under the orthodox hold and are gradually trying to accelerate their pace of cultural progress with the march of the times. They are also trying to create a more balanced outlook as against the orthodox or the advanced communities. Sindhis, Parsees and Christians who are spoken of as being generally advanced because of their more forward nature and their adherence to orthodox ways is to a very much lesser degree than the communities just spoken of who move in traditional groves and whose ways are traditionally ingrained. However, by and large, most members of every community are conservative and tend to follow closely its fiats and dictates in most spheres of private or public conduct, thinking, behaving or in the observance of community ways, though at times their outlook may appear to be advanced and so-called modernized. There is no doubt that our society is still conservative and traditional, but at the same time one cannot ignore the fact that there exists a group in every community, whose members, as one respondent, a Maharashtrian Brahmin put it, “sensitive to changing social conditions”. This is a mid-group of a transitory nature which has to adapt itself to a society in transition. This century has created what Krech, Crutchfield and Ballackey call the precarious ‘marginal man’.⁴

To widen the field of inquiry, questions calling for further details were framed and put and the results thereof analysed. Question No. 15 was put with a view to ascertaining if the home environment was conducive to discussing matters of sex, and whether they are discussed freely, or considered as taboo. Table 11 on the following page indicates the answers given by the respondents.

It is interesting to note that as to the first half of the question, from the 155 of the 170 students who answered the question, 62 or 40 per cent stated that their home environment was conducive

⁴ Krech, Crutchfield and Ballackey, *Individual in Society* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1962), p. 530.

Table 11

EXTENT TO WHICH THE HOME ENVIRONMENT OF THE RESPONDENTS IS CONDUCTIVE TO INTIMATE DISCUSSION OF SEX AND MARRIAGE

Community	Students									
	Is your home environment conducive to discussing matters of sex			Are questions of sex and marriage discussed freely in your home			Are these considered as taboo			
	Yes	No	Not mentioned	Yes	To some extent etc.	No	Not mentioned	Yes	No	
Christians	4	3	1	2	1	5	—	2	6	—
Jews	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
Parsees	8	2	1	3	1	6	1	1	9	1
Muslims	5	4	1	4	2	4	—	4	5	1
Jains	2	4	—	3	—	3	—	2	3	1
Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana	11	13	5	10	—	14	—	4	20	—
Maharashtrian Brahmins	9	14	—	8	—	18	2	7	16	5
Other Maharashtrians	8	11	1	6	—	13	1	7	11	2
<i>Other Hindus</i>										
Sindhis	10	23	1	7	—	26	1	12	17	5
Bengalis	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	—
Sikhs and Punjabis	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	1	1	—
Nairs	1	1	1	—	—	3	1	2	1	—
Madrasis	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Reddy	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
U.P.	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	1	—	1
Rajputs	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—
Broadly stated Hindus	3	9	—	7	—	5	—	4	8	—
Community not stated	—	2	2	—	—	1	3	—	—	4
TOTAL	62	93	15	50	5	105	10	48	101	21

Table 11 (contd.)

EXTENT TO WHICH THE HOME ENVIRONMENT OF THE RESPONDENTS IS CONDUCTIVE TO INTIMATE DISCUSSION OF SEX AND MARRIAGE

Community	Non-Students										Are these considered as taboo			
	Is your home environment conducive to discussing matters of sex					Are questions of sex and marriage discussed freely in your home								
	Yes	No	Not mentioned	Yes	To some extent	No	Not mentioned	Yes	To some extent	No					Not mentioned
Christians	4	15	6	5	3	16	1	6	1	12	6			
Jews	3	1	—	2	2	—	—	1	—	3	—			
Parsees	5	8	3	6	—	9	1	6	—	8	2			
Muslims	5	5	1	1	2	8	—	6	1	2	2			
Jains	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	1			
Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana	3	1	1	1	1	3	—	—	—	5	—			
Maharashtrian Brahmins	6	23	1	6	—	23	1	6	—	23	1			
Other Maharashtrais	3	13	—	4	1	11	—	7	—	9	—			
Other Hindus														
Sindhis	1	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	2	1			
Bengalis	2	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	—			
Sikhs and Punjabis	—	5	1	—	1	5	—	—	—	5	1			
Nairs	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	1			
Madrasis	1	3	—	2	—	2	—	2	1	1	—			
Reddy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
U.P.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Rajputs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Broadly stated Hindus	2	1	5	1	—	6	1	1	—	3	4			
Community not stated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
TOTAL	37	77	20	31	10	86	7	37	4	74	19			

to discussing sex, and 93 or 60 per cent stated that it was not so. Fifteen students did not answer the question.

Of the 134 non-students, 114 who have answered the question, 37 or 32.4 per cent answered in the affirmative and 77 or 67.6 per cent in the negative. Twenty did not answer the question. Thus over 60 per cent in either class of respondents admit that the home environment is not conducive to discussing matters of sex.

The next question asked was: "Are questions of sex and marriage discussed freely in your home?"—which more or less gave definiteness to the situation. Of the 160 students who replied, 50 or 31.2 per cent said "yes", 105 or 65.6 per cent said "no" and 5 or 3.2 per cent said "only when necessary", "to some extent only, marriage, not sex", and one of them stated that "such subjects were not yet discussed in the home". Of the 127 non-students who answered this question, 31 or 24.4 per cent said "yes", 86 or 67.7 per cent said "no" and 10 or 7.9 per cent said "sex, no; marriage, yes". still another said "moderately" and one said "not at all". From the replies given to the above two questions, 15(i)(a) and 15(i)(b), it is seen that amongst the students whereas 40 per cent said that the home environment is conducive to discussing matters of marriage and sex, on closer questioning, only 31.2 per cent said that matters of marriage and sex are discussed freely, while 3.2 per cent said specifically that only topics of marriage were discussed, while other such questions, only to some extent. Among non-students, too, whereas 32.4 per cent said that the environment is conducive to discussing such matters, only 24.4 per cent said that such matters may be freely discussed, while 7.9 per cent still say that such matters as related to sex and marriage may be discussed only to some extent, and questions on marriage rather than on sex are discussed freely. It is a definite conclusion that though the answers coming from the students lead to the belief that the home environment is congenial to some extent for discussions on sex and marriage, when the subsequent questions, which are more precise, are put, their answers betray their leaning towards conservatism and their reluctance for such discussions. If at all the discussions do take place in the family, it is only when occasion arises and that, perhaps, very rarely. Questions on marriage, it appears, are discussed, as it is a family affair in most cases, whilst questions on sex are much too often taken for granted and are either ignored or avoided.

A further question: "Are these subjects considered as taboo?"

was designed with a view to seeking the extent to which taboo plays a part in matters of sex which in its turn will show how far sex discussion is prohibited in the homes, and it will also indicate the puritanical attitude adopted and the atmosphere of secrecy which is maintained when talking about sex. Of 149 students who answered the question, 48 or 32 per cent said that the subjects were taboo, while 101 or 67.8 per cent said that they were not. Among the 115 non-students who answered the question, 37 or 32.2 per cent of them said the subjects were taboo, while 74 or 64.4 per cent said that they were not taboo, 4 or 3.4 per cent said, "to some extent taboo", "questions of marriage not taboo", "it would not occur to us", "not generally".

In both the cases—of the students as well as the non-students—it is found that sex discussion in the home is not taboo. However, there is reason to believe that in most of the families the discussions are restricted to the older members. Questions, however, are not discussed freely and there is evidently some restraint. By and large they are not taboo, though it appears that there are some very conservative and orthodox homes where discussion on sex particularly is still considered as taboo. It is necessary to qualify the above statement in the sense that although there is no definite impediment—there being no injunction against discussing sex—intimate questions on sex, etc. are hardly ever discussed in the family circle. But in questions relating to settling a marriage, there seems to be no such impediment or restraint.

Turning from the home atmosphere to the attitude of the respondents themselves, a question was asked whether personally they considered discussion on sex and marriage as taboo.

Out of 170 students, 3.5 per cent did not answer, 8.2 per cent said that they considered it as taboo and 88.3 per cent said that they personally do not consider discussion of questions on sex and marriage as taboo.

Among non-students, 1.2 per cent have not answered the question, while only 4.4 per cent say they object to such discussion, while one says, "I do not consider it proper to talk sex with my parents and brothers", while another says, "yes and no, it all depends on various factors, one of them being the person with whom you are discussing". But in the main over 90 per cent have stated that personally speaking they do not consider discussion on sex and marriage as taboo.

Table 12

RESPONSE OF THE RESPONDENTS TO CONSIDERATION OF
DISCUSSION ON MATTERS OF SEX AND MARRIAGE AS
TABOO

<i>Response</i>	<i>Students</i>		<i>Non-Students</i>	
	<i>Men and women combined</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Men and women combined</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Yes	14	8.2	6	4.4
No	150	88.3	125	94.4
Not stated	6	3.5	3	1.2
TOTAL.	170	100.0	134	100.0

By and large students and non-students due to their education, outlook and other external influences perhaps do not consider these discussions as taboo. And non-students being more in contact with the outside environment, almost over 90 per cent of them are comparatively more relaxed when discussing such issues. There is a small percentage, namely 8.2 per cent and 4.4 per cent of students and non-students respectively, who personally consider such discussions as taboo. Perhaps, they are the ones who are the tradition-directed type, who are still mostly influenced by their rigid home environment.

Considering the above two questions, it appears that the environment in which our respondents are brought up is largely conservative, and hence discussion on sex is not welcome or entertained freely except in few cases.

From all this, it seems that where the younger generation is concerned, in the Indian family sex is rarely if ever mentioned in the home, leave alone discussions about it. Questions on marriage are discussed as they should be, but here also, the conclusion is that only questions about it are considered, not the individual's preparation for it, or the physical or medical aspect of it, all of which are almost taken for granted.

The large majority of the respondents are persons on the threshold of marriage. It is, therefore, very relevant to the subject to ascertain if they are equipped with the desired and proper information, knowledge and preparation for marriage. With this end in view, they were asked whether they considered their knowledge on sex,

husband and wife relationship, etc., adequate enough as preparation for marriage.

Table 13

**RESPONSE OF THE RESPONDENTS TO THE QUERY: DO THEY
CONSIDER THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF SEX, ETC. ADEQUATE
PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE?**

<i>Response</i>	<i>Students</i>			<i>Non-Students</i>		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>
Yes	43	62	105 (61.9)*	62	25	87 (64.9)
No	7	8	15 (8.9)	2	5	7 (5.4)
Doubtful	22	23	45 (26.3)	18	16	34 (25.5)
Not mentioned	—	5	5 (2.9)	2	4	6 (4.2)
TOTAL	72	98	170 (100.0)	84	50	134 (100.0)

* Figures in parenthesis denote percentages.

Of the students 61.9 per cent and of the non-students 64.9 per cent said that their knowledge was adequate and this in spite of only 40 per cent and 32.4 per cent respectively having stated earlier that their home environment was not conducive to such discussions. Of the students 26.6 per cent and of the non-students 25.5 per cent respectively stated that it was doubtful whether it was adequate, while 8.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent respectively stated that they had no knowledge. Since such a large number assert that they possess the requisite knowledge and are adequately prepared for marriage, it was interesting to examine how they came by such knowledge and made such preparation. The nearest source that one can trace is the home environment, since it can and does have an influence in such preparation. Assuming that besides the relations between parents, the happiness of parents and the congenial atmosphere in the home which are responsible factors in the imbibing of such knowledge, it was worth while further to explore other possibilities such as education, including sex education, this being one of the important

elements contributing to such preparation. The question was therefore put as to what is the sex education imparted in the home and whether it was perfunctory, adequate or none at all.

Table 14

THE NATURE OF SEX EDUCATION IMPARTED AT HOME
TO THE RESPONDENTS

	<i>Students</i>			<i>Non-Students</i>		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combi- ned</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combi- ned</i>
Not at all	42	32	74 (43.5)*	63	20	83 (61.9)
Perfunctory	13	25	38 (22.3)	9	14	23 (17.2)
Adequate	14	38	52 (30.1)	9	14	23 (17.2)
Not mentioned	3	3	6 (4.1)	3	2	5 (3.7)
TOTAL	72	98	170 (100.0)	84	50	134 (100.0)

* Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages.

Of the student respondents, 43.5 per cent said "none at all", 22.3 per cent said "perfunctory" and 30.1 per cent considered that it was adequate. Surprisingly enough, the non-students were not inclined to say the same about themselves. Further, 61.9 per cent said that no sex education was imparted in the home, 17.2 per cent that it was perfunctory and 17.2 per cent that it was adequate. Non-students seem to admit more readily the neglect of sex education in the home, and having seen earlier that the home environment does not lend itself too easily to discussions on sex, one is led to infer that sex education is not imparted in the home and that their knowledge of sex is hence derived from some source other than home. Considering also that non-students have more contacts with the outside environment, it is likely that the external environment is a more probable source of achieving such knowledge. What is bewildering is that 30 per cent of the students state that sex education is adequate, which is a very high percentage indeed looking at the general picture of their background outlined by themselves in

response to the earlier questions. On closer examination it is found that the proportion of girls admitting there is adequate sex education in the home is higher than boys. From this it can be assumed that mothers who usually instruct their daughters in intimate affairs are either enlightened or progressive although the sample considered does not fully point out so. It would again, be equally right in assuming that the women respondents who get some instructions at puberty equate it with sex education. Perhaps, in most cases this instruction takes the form of a warning that one should not go too far in one's relation with the opposite sex, or a note of caution that one should not permit oneself certain indulgences or both of them may incidentally be commented upon by the mother when instructing her daughter in sex hygiene. Of the students 43.5 per cent said there was no sex education imparted. It appears that the males are comparatively neglected in this respect, whilst 23.3 per cent of them say the education imparted is perfunctory. Largely sex education in the home is conspicuous by its absence.

It is interesting to note the reply of a male student who says, "it is there, but very little, since all understand that, all of us know." On the other hand, the statement of another male non-student is, "home perhaps is not the place for sex education. Sex-consciousness comes naturally when one becomes adult". The two statements are very significant and sum up the attitude towards sex in the home, namely, that sex knowledge is something to be taken for granted and since it is taken as coming naturally, instruction in the subject is considered as superfluous and hence is either ignored altogether or is given the go by as being something which it would be indelicate to dilate upon. In this connection, Cormack remarks, "An important part of the Hindu view toward life and nature is that life is seen as a whole, and as natural. One does not learn about life and the natural things. Sex is considered natural and all aspects of sex, etc. are all taken for granted. One is led to believe that a girl is told nothing of marriage in this behalf, and perhaps the parents think it is traditional that she learn from her husband. One need not doubt the fact that whether for boys or girls there is no conscious preparation for marriage."⁵

To further ascertain the source of knowledge a question was asked: "Kindly state the source from which you obtained your

⁵ M. Cormack, *The Hindu Woman* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1953).

Table 15

DETAILS OF THE NUMBER OF SOURCES, FREQUENCY AND RANK ORDER THROUGH WHICH STUDENTS OBTAIN THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF SEX AND MARRIAGE

Nature of source	Sources								Total frequency of individuals mentioning separate factors	Percent- age	Rank order
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Not stated		
Scientific literature	11	18	21	23	12	4	1	1	—	91	53.5
Pornographic literature	—	—	2	4	4	—	—	1	—	14	8.2
Parents	2	10	10	18	7	2	1	1	—	51	30.0
Friends	20	33	30	30	13	4	1	1	—	133	78.2
Teachers	1	6	6	20	6	4	1	1	—	45	26.4
Films	4	10	15	19	10	3	1	1	—	63	37.0
Fiction	—	4	11	15	11	4	1	1	—	47	27.6
Any other source	2	1	4	3	2	—	1	1	—	13	7.6
Total frequency of all factors	40	82	99	132	65	24	7	8	—	457	—
Total number of individuals mentioning number of sources	40 (23.6)	41 (24.1)	33 (19.5)	33 (19.5)	13 (7.7)	4 (2.3)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	4	170	—
Total number of factors	457										
Total number of students	170										

It may be noted that the eight vertical columns indicate frequency of individuals mentioning separate factors. The percentage of total frequency of every factor as shown in the column vertically, is deduced from total number of respondents, 170.

The last two columns (horizontally) show total frequency of all factors mentioned as per number of source, and total number of individuals and their percentages mentioning the number of sources used to obtain their knowledge of sex and marriage.

Table 15 (contd.)

DETAILS OF THE NUMBER OF SOURCES, FREQUENCY AND RANK ORDER THROUGH WHICH NON-STUDENTS OBTAIN THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF SEX AND MARRIAGE

Nature of source	Sources								Total frequency of individuals mentioning separate factors	Percent- age	Rank order
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Not stated		
Scientific literature	11	22	10	21	10	3	1	—	—	78	58.2
Pornographic literature	—	1	—	11	6	—	1	—	—	19	14.1
Parents	4	1	1	4	5	3	1	—	—	18	13.4
Friends	13	29	12	29	10	3	1	—	—	97	72.3
Teachers	—	4	3	10	4	3	1	—	—	25	18.6
Films	—	2	9	20	9	3	1	—	—	44	32.8
Fiction	1	2	7	16	10	3	1	—	—	40	29.8
Any other source	6	5	3	5	1	—	1	—	—	21	15.6
Total frequency of all factors	35	66	45	116	55	18	7	—	—	342	100.0
Not stated									7		
Total number of individuals mentioning number of sources	35 (26.1)	33 (24.6)	15 (11.2)	29 (21.7)	11 (8.2)	3 (2.2)	1 (0.8)	—	—	(5.2)	
Total number of factors										342	
Total number of non-students										134	

It may be noted that the eight vertical columns indicate frequency of individuals mentioning separate factors. The percentage of total frequency of every factor as shown in the column vertically, is deduced from total number of respondents, 134.

The last two columns (horizontally) show total frequency of all factors mentioned as per number of source, and total number of individuals and their percentages mentioning the number of sources used to obtain their knowledge of sex and marriage.

knowledge of sex and marriage?" From the answers, it was found that over 75 per cent of the students and non-students obtained their knowledge from more sources than one (*see* Table 15).

Over 78 per cent of the students derived it from intimate discussions with friends, 53.5 per cent from scientific literature, 37.6 per cent from the films, 30 per cent from parents, 26.4 per cent from teachers, 27.6 per cent from fiction and 8.2 per cent from pornographic literature. In the case of students and friends, the films and scientific literature appear to have a greater influence on them than parents and teachers. They are more at ease when discussing with their friends than their elders. As to those who trace their knowledge from scientific literature, the statement may be taken at its face value. One need not be surprised from the findings that the home is found to be uncongenial so far as sex discussions are concerned, which perhaps, is to be attributed to the attitude of parents and teachers in not being able to discuss freely without betraying signs of hesitation and uneasiness and with understanding as is the case with one's contemporaries.

Among the non-students, on the other hand, 72.3 per cent state that they derived their knowledge from friends, 58.2 per cent from scientific literature, 32.8 per cent from the films, 29.8 per cent from fiction and 18.6 per cent from teachers, 14.1 per cent from pornographic literature, and 13.4 per cent from parents. Here again, friends seem to be the best and most accessible source to sex information, next to scientific literature. It is surprising that teachers and parents have not gained their confidence to the extent desirable. Among the non-students, pornographic literature is more often resorted to than among the students, because the former is more readily available to them. On the whole, it appears *a priori* that in intimate matters like sex, outside influences such as friends, fiction and the films play a greater role in imparting sex knowledge to our students and non-students than their homes and the atmosphere under the parental roof does not seem to be either congenial or encouraging for sex discussion.

Such then is the response of the sample of respondents and their immediate environment, from which the foregoing conclusions have been drawn. Though by and large many do conform to their immediate environment and the traits of the larger community, in a changing society and the changing outer environment, it is found that they are susceptible to outer influences, which cannot

be overlooked. Left to themselves, they do not consider discussions about sex in itself as taboo, and considering their religious practices and their environments, it can be definitely asserted that there is a leaning towards broad-mindedness yet a latent hesitancy or inhibitive tendency is visible which is a characteristic trait of any society in transition. There are those, of course, who refuse to travel beyond the bounds of convention. But there are those who wish to adapt themselves to the ways and norms of the larger society. The latter, it appears, are in search of standards or a pattern to which they can conform. Whether this sort of outlook will continue, only time can tell.

The background factors—personal, social and cultural—which have just been examined are implicit for the understanding of behaviour and attitude. These factors are also implied and inherent in the conditioning of behaviour and attitude. The analysis of attitudes to the issues raised for discussion and as reflected in the questionnaire is developed on these background considerations. Undoubtedly, more pertinent and intensive questioning than was attempted, would have given the survey more depth and made it more broadbased. But as this type of research is not yet very welcome, *ipso facto* it has led to the questionnaire being rather brief and to the point. At the outset, it has been stated that the objective of the questionnaire in the main was to get an insight into and an idea of the attitude of the respondents to certain issues pertaining to the institution of marriage and family and the impression made on them.

Hence, before proceeding further relevant facts have been considered. These attitudes may not materialize in action, but are rather tendencies to act. Nevertheless, these attitudes are powerful factors in the control of behaviour, for in a vast number of cases, they follow or act upon their tendencies which result in overt action. On the other hand we must be cautioned that the attitude is liable to change when the person is in the subjective position and the action may be quite contrary to the attitude expressed at an earlier stage, and he may not live up to what he professes. This element of duality, whether it is there rightly or wrongly, is a question for further research. Moreover, where attitude and action do not correspond, it may not be due so much to change in attitude as pressure of some superior force or some extraneous consideration of prestige that makes it all but impossible for the individual to act

in accordance with his true attitude. Though some are prone to change their attitude others will not, since "their present attitudes have the expectation of consummation for it usually requires a greater force to change an attitude than to continue it, due to inertia either intellectual or emotional. Thoughts held for some time have a tendency to channellize themselves, and this fact, added to their directional inertia, makes it difficult to change their course".⁶

Opinion polls and attitudinal studies today are very popular, but as to their validity or soundness, one cannot be too sure. Individuals do not always state their true attitudes, but state them in a manner as to make a better impression. Such shortcomings in a study of this nature cannot be helped as it is a characteristic of all attitude studies. But the only thing which can be done is to secure the goodwill and the co-operation of the respondents which has been the endeavour with a view to getting at the truth of things as much as is humanly possible. None the less in the present circumstances, the respondents in this sample provide the barometer by which an opinion on the shaping of or gauging the future pattern of marriage and family life in our society can be formed or judgment made. Considered in this light, therefore, the contribution of the respondents to the extent that has been availed of the data they have provided, is both substantial and significant.

⁶ Ray E. Baber, *Youth Looks at Marriage and the Family* (Tokyo: International Christian University, 1958), p. 5.

CHAPTER FIVE

AT THE THRESHOLD OF MARRIAGE

IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS culture, in our society courtship practices as obtaining in Western countries are hardly followed. Courtship, as it is generally known, is a functional prelude to marriage. The period of courtship, which is associated with modern marriages is seldom to be met with here and whatever evidence there

is of its existence, is only to be found among the few minority communities like the Parsees and Christians, except for isolated instances, which are few and far between in the case of other communities. In our society, the period of engagement is the so-called 'courting period' but it cannot, properly speaking, be considered as courtship as a learning process, since very often the interregnum is too short-termed and hurried a process.

A wise choice, it is said, 'is half the battle'. In practice, too, generally mate-selection is not a rushed affair. The manner of choosing a mate varies, but in making the choice, the individual is chiefly guided by two principles which underlie the process of selection. One is preferential mating which serves to define and delimit the field of eligible mates into which a person is encouraged to marry, and the other is marriage arrangement, which refers to the extent to which other persons participate in the process of selection. Besides these, we have to take into account those cases of individualized or personal selection commonly termed as, 'romantic selection', 'love at first sight' and 'infatuation', as such cases are not unknown.

Selection, our data indicates, may primarily be determined in three ways, viz. (a) parental selection, (b) one's own choice or personal selection, and (c) combined or in mutual 'teamwork' among parents and children, the last being either personal selection with parents' consultation or approval and consent or vice versa—children's consultation or approval and consent and parents' selection.

The following Table 16 shows how the choice of a marriage partner is determined. It is derived from the answers elicited to the question: "Do you think your parents are capable of arranging a suitable match for you, or would you rather have the choice of marriage partner left to you alone?"

Table 16
DETERMINING OF THE CHOICE OF A PARTNER IN
MARRIAGE

	<i>Students</i>				<i>Non-Students</i>			
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>	<i>Percentage to the total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>	<i>Percentage to the total</i>
Parents capable of arranging a suitable partner	19	50	69	40.8	17	10	27	20.1
Choice of a partner left to the person	33	27	60	35.2	52	28	80	59.7
Combined	9	8	17	10.0	9	4	13	9.8
Evasive	2	—	2	1.1	1	1	2	1.4
Not mentioned	9	13	22	12.9	4	6	12	9.0
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

The above Table indicates that there is a striking difference in the preference shown in the mode of selection of their partners by the students and non-students. Whereas out of the 170 student respondents, 40.8 per cent have indicated their preference for selection of a partner by parents, only 27, i.e. 20.1 per cent of 134 of the non-students prefer this form of selection. Of the latter 80, i.e. 59.7 per cent prefer marriage partners of their own choice; whilst of the former, namely students, 35.2 per cent prefer their own choice.

It is evident that among non-students or office-goers, there is a greater possibility for association with the opposite sex and thus of meeting a suitable partner, although it does not suggest that there is no such opportunity for students in co-educational institutions. But it is probable that the age-group in the former case being higher, the persons in this group are less dependent; and being economically independent, parental authority does not always carry weight. In the case of students, however, a tendency towards own choice of mate is manifest, although not to the same extent as in the case of the non-students, which perhaps is due to the immediate external pressure and restriction.

There is a feature that is outstanding in the answers given by both the students and non-students in relation to the methods of selection. Taking the case of selection by parents, although it is conceded by both the groups that parents generally are capable of arranging and selecting a suitable partner for them; nearly half of the non-students and one-third of the students opt for the elimination of parental influence in the selection of a partner. Such expressions as "parents' choice, but opportunity to decide for myself", "parents in consultation with me", "don't mind parents but approval by me", are eloquent of their need to be recognized in the selection of a mate. Women students appear to be, although not implicitly, much more dependent on the selection by parents. This may be due to many factors. It may be they do not wish to take the risk and responsibility of a choice, or, since parents have usually the last word in everything, they do not wish to override their wishes. From the comments proffered by two women students, it is apparent that the home environment and upbringing may be a bar to the selection being left to the individual. It seems likely that many more of them may have had such or similar reasons, but they have not explicitly voiced their feelings in this regard.

In the case of selection by the individual, here too, we find that one-fourth among both students and non-students desire to consult their parents and have their approval. Perhaps, this is in conformity with the traditional pattern in our society, one of the indications of which is the utter dependence on the family.

Of students and non-students, 10.0 per cent and 9.8 per cent respectively say that it is a joint effort by parents and children. However, 1.1 per cent and 1.4 per cent of students and non-students respectively have made statements which are vague and non-com-

mittal; while 12.9 per cent and 9.0 per cent respectively have not stated their preferences.

A few personal observations made by the respondents which may personalize the statistical data set out above and acquaint ourselves with some of the views expressed by them will now be noted. A student says, "parents' policy is to leave the choice of a partner to me—parents will guide me to make the right decision. I have the final say". Still another student says, "they give us the chance to choose". This is rather encouraging, since it indicates a liberal trend on the part of a considerable number of parents in giving full scope to their children to make the selection. A very pertinent statement coming from a woman student suggestive of the broad-mindedness of parents in this respect, if it is not to be mistaken for selfish motives of parents, is that, "parents are capable, but they will be extremely glad if I find my partner myself". It may be a genuine desire to take into consideration the choice of the daughter, especially of one who is educated. On the other hand, it may be that such indulgence is shown to the daughter, so that it may lighten their own burden of having to give her a dowry, and maybe one of the reasons why parents tend to be so-called liberal in their outlook. But in general, it is not so, though such cases are not unknown.

Some observations by non-students are interesting. One non-student (male) affirms, "parents indeed are match-makers in India. But I would like to marry the girl of my choice and with the consent of parents". Another non-student (male) whose parents grudgingly allowed him to choose his own mate remarks, "parents think they are capable. But their choice depends almost entirely on their beliefs, customs, ideas, etc. I do not agree. They have unwillingly left the choice to me". Still another who prefers to make his own choice says, "parents are incapable of understanding the modern boy or girl". Another says, "rather own choice, but you know what parents are", implying thereby that one somehow succumbs to the pressure brought to bear upon by old and authoritarian parents.

Among the respondents, 21 i.e. 12.3 per cent of the students and 17 i.e. 12.6 per cent of the non-students are engaged; 33 i.e. 19.4 per cent of the students and 27 i.e. 20.1 per cent of the non-students are to be engaged. Quite a number among the latter category have not mentioned whether they prefer the choice being left to them or

Table 17

THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS ENGAGED, TO BE ENGAGED, ETC. ANALYSIS THEREOF

	Students				Non-Students			
	Men	Women	Combined	Per cent	Men	Women	Combined	Per cent
<i>Engaged</i>								
(a) Own choice	3	4	7		3	7	10	
(b) Your and parents' choice	3	7	10		2	1	3	
(c) Parents in consultation with you	—	3	3	12.5	1	—	1	17
(d) Parents without consulting you	—	—	—		—	—	—	12.6
Not mentioned	—	1	1		2	1	3	
<i>To be engaged</i>								
(a) Own choice	3	1	4		1	—	1	
(b) Your and parents' choice	1	1	2		—	—	—	
(c) Parents in consultation with you	—	—	—	19.6	—	—	—	20.1
(d) Parents without consulting you	—	—	—		—	—	—	
Not mentioned	17	10	27		21	5	26	
<i>Was engaged</i>								
(a) Own choice	—	—	—		—	1	1	
(b) Your and parents' choice	—	—	—		—	—	—	
(c) Parents in consultation with you	2	—	2	1.2	—	—	—	1.4
(d) Parents without consulting you	—	—	—		—	1	1	
<i>Not engaged</i>								
(a) Own choice	19	47	66	38.9	33	25	58	43.4
(b) Your and parents' choice	—	—	—		—	—	—	
(c) Parents in consultation with you	—	—	—		—	—	—	
(d) Parents without consulting you	—	—	—		—	—	—	
<i>Not mentioned</i>								
(a) Own choice	24	24	48	27.8	21	9	30	22.5
(b) Your and parents' choice	—	—	—		—	—	—	
(c) Parents in consultation with you	—	—	—		—	—	—	
(d) Parents without consulting you	—	—	—		—	—	—	
<i>TOTAL</i>								
	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

their parents. But some of them have done so. From this it would appear that they believe that there is a possibility of their being engaged or expect to be engaged. Hence, after deducting the number of those 'to be engaged' and who have not mentioned their preference, we get only 27 i.e. 15.8 per cent of students, and 18 i.e. 13.4 per cent of non-students who are engaged. A large proportion of our sample is not engaged, which may indicate that there is a tendency to be betrothed at a later age (*see* Table 17).

Another question asked was: "Are you engaged, to be engaged or to be married? If engaged, how was the match arranged,

- (a) by your own choice,
- (b) by your and parents choice combined,
- (c) by parents in consultation with you,
- (d) by the parents without consulting you."

Of the 21 students who have mentioned how they chose their marriage partners, seven got engaged after making their own choice, ten by their own and parents' choice combined, that is, principally joint decisions but perhaps with the personal factor predominating and only in the case of three students selection of the mate was made by parents in consultation with them; but the correct inference would be that it is parents' selection primarily. It is noteworthy that among students personal selection is gaining ground. In the case of non-students the choice is overwhelmingly personal, i.e. ten have mentioned, that the selection was of their own choice, three that it was their and parents' choice and one that it was the choice of parents in consultation with the individual. In either case, it is interesting to note that there were no instances of engagement without the parents' having consulted their children.

Although non-students are more disposed towards personal choice without parental sanction, it is otherwise with the students. Although students prefer to make their own choice, they are none the less prone to being guided and advised in this respect by their parents.

There are only two instances of students, both males and two of non-students, both females, a very negligible number where the parties broke off the engagement. In the former, in both cases the choice of the partner was made by parents in consultation with them and the engagement was broken off in one case because the character of the fiancée was found not to the boy's expectations and was broken off in the other case because the engagement was rushed

and led to hasty decision being taken. In the latter, in the case of one girl, it was her own choice of the partner, the other did not mention how the choice was made, whilst both have not mentioned the reason for breaking off the engagement.

To a question put in these terms, viz.: "What is the consideration which influenced you and your parents in the selection of your marriage partner?" A few of the students and non-students responded and a tabular statement has been prepared showing the attributes and qualities which influenced them in making their choice of a marriage partner (Appendix II-C). From among the criteria in making the selection, of seven male students who responded to this question, 4 of them state feminine beauty as a predominant factor. In only one case it is the sole consideration. In three cases however, it is accompanied with other qualities. For instance, in one case the other accompanying factors are culture, behaviour and mental status. In another, family honour. In the third, domestic aptitude and personal qualities like 'being social and polite' and 'moderately educated'. It appears that beauty is a desirable asset and is not exclusive. Other factors are more essential. Good nature and pleasing behaviour featured in four cases. Family honour and good family relationship is mentioned in two cases.

Of the five male non-students who have mentioned consideration in selection of a partner, three lay stress on beauty and good looks to go with other qualities. In one case, it is accompanied by other desirable assets such as health, good nature and education; in another, character, health and family background are desired. Character and conduct is mentioned in three cases, education in two cases.

Among the female students, eleven of them have mentioned consideration in their choice of a mate. Of these five have emphasized the economic or monetary consideration in one form or another as depicted by the phrases and words, "ability to earn", "good income", "good (meaning financial) status", "steady" and "good service", the last having featured in only one case. Professional status, or income associated with professions is an important criteria in the judgment of females. In such cases, apparently, other attributes are only secondary. Income is accompanied with education in one case; good family background and personal qualities, such as character in another case; culture, background, health and education in the third case; and social status and independent nature in another.

In five cases character and conduct feature; good faith features in one; education in four; honesty and hard work in one; family background in four. Fascination (probably meaning infatuation) and personal qualities are exclusive of the other qualities.

As for female non-students, the emotional aspect is in the forefront and the stress is on 'love'. Other qualities go by the board, with this exception that mental picture of the other party which they entertain is largely influential, and virtually results in the selection being made in favour of that party. There is another aspect, that of (a) maturity of mind and intelligence which is noted in two cases, and (b) character, financial security, integrity and looks in another case.

There does not seem to exist much of a disparity in the qualities considered necessary in the choice of a mate among the students and non-students and the difference between the two groups is more apparent than real. The males in both the categories emphasize beauty or charm of the opposite sex, although these are not mutually exclusive. General health, character, genial behaviour, and aptitude for domestic chores continue to set standards for selection so far as the choice by the males is concerned. Very high education among females is not particularly desired, it may be more of an asset than necessity.

It is strange that dowry is given a wide berth, and it is wellnigh impossible to understand whether persons are chary of making an admission or whether there is some misunderstanding of the question. The latter alternative seems unacceptable since the word 'consideration' is wide enough to cover dowry. No useful purpose would have been served in asking a pointed question, since the answer could either be evasive or false, there being no means to test the veracity thereof. Not one of the respondents has said that dowry is the only or one of the considerations. But this should not lead to the belief that dowry is not a consideration. It perhaps may be a subsidiary consideration, considering that selection as reflected in the data is made invariably by the person concerned or in consultation with the parents rather than by arrangement, when consideration such as dowry loses much of its significance, but is not altogether lost sight of.

Among the women students and non-students, security of service, steady income, financial security, personal security in terms of character and conduct of the person are prominent factors which carry weight in the matter of selection of a marriage partner.

A lady student has made a distinction between selection and factors affecting selection, which requires to be appreciated. She has classified into two main categories the criteria for selection when it is made (1) by herself and parents, and (2) by herself alone. In the former are included the boy's culture, family background, health, education, social status, independent nature, service; and in the latter the attributes are, loving nature and good looks. In the attributes in the first case are seen the projection of all safety elements and safeguards as to the future of the couple, that is, when parents participate in the selection. Here, the individual has to reconcile her choice with that of the family. But left to herself, she indulges in her peculiar or particular tastes. Whether these are advisable in making a selection of a life-long companion than those recommended by parents is a moot point.

Thus the conclusion is irresistible that the qualities which the individual expects to find in the partner whom he or she has personally chosen, are physical and psychogenic. These with the socio-cultural-cum-economic considerations are forces which play a vital part in the selection of a mate. But both classes of consideration are interdependent and each class would fail to strike a balance if considered exclusively. It is apparent that where marriages are brought about by parents' choice or inspired by tradition or convention, there the party or parties will not fail to consider family status, background, heritage, etc. as prime influencing factors; choice made personally with personal qualities in view will focus attention on personality needs, personality traits such as nature, character, habits, physical and mental qualities, i.e. physical beauty, health and mental qualities of the mate, depending on individual disposition and individual situation.

In the analysis of the considerations influencing marital selection, it is interesting to know whether the horoscope was one of the decisive factors in the selection of a partner. It is to be noted in passing that neither students nor non-students give undue significance to it, except for a small number i.e. only 17 or 10 per cent among the students and 13 or 11.9 per cent among the non-students, the number being made up of Maharashtrian Brahmins mostly and some Sindhis.

Another question asked was: "Is one justified in breaking off an engagement, and if so, under what circumstances?" Tables 18 and 19 that follow provide an abstract in figures recording succinctly the answers given.

Table 18
THE ATTITUDE OF STUDENTS TOWARDS BREAKING THE
ENGAGEMENT

<i>Breaking off an engagement</i>	<i>Students</i>				<i>Non-Students</i>			
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Wo- men</i>	<i>Com- bined</i>	<i>Per- cent- age</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Wo- men</i>	<i>Com- bined</i>	<i>Per- cent- age</i>
Yes	43	80	123	72.4	60	43	103	76.8
No	9	7	16	9.4	13	1	14	10.4
Not mentioned	20	11	31	18.2	11	6	17	12.8
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

Coming to the question of betrothal, there is much sanctity attached to it. Formerly it was almost synonymous with marriage and even now it is as good as an irrevocable commitment; and although initially most of them are reluctant to break off an engagement, it would appear that certain genuine grounds justify breaking off an engagement so as to ward off an undesirable marriage. The general motto however continues to be 'look before you leap'. The main causes which may warrant the breaking off of an engagement are listed under the following heads, viz.:

- (i) Physical and mental well-being: This includes general health, hereditary disease, venereal and other such diseases, impotency, physical and mental defects;
- (ii) Personal characteristics, e.g., qualities or traits like character, behaviour and habits;
- (iii) Incompatibility: This is generally not specified, and when it is specified, such incompatibility stems from difference of opinions or difference of tastes and difference in nature and temperament;
- (iv) Vices such as drinking, gambling, etc.;
- (v) Economic insecurity.

Table 19 indicates that in some cases the factors do not go singly or are not exclusive of the other factors, but they go together. The factors are classified under five main heads and constitute the grounds on which the respondents would be likely to break off an engagement. The sixth column captioned 'other' suggests that the

Table 19

FOUNDATIONS ON WHICH STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS WOULD CONSIDER BREAKING AN ENGAGEMENT

Factors	Respondents	Total No.		Physical and mental well-being		Personal qualities and personal factors		Incompatibility		Vices		Economic		Other	
				Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
One	{ Non-students	33	18	2	—	3	2	7	2	—	2	—	—	21	12
	{ Students	36	50	4	6	6	7	6	17	—	1	—	—	20	19
Two	{ Non-students	12	5	10	—	8	4	3	—	—	—	—	2	5	4
	{ Students	13	16	8	5	11	11	3	10	—	2	—	—	4	—
Three	{ Non-students	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	1	—	—	—	—	4	2
	{ Students	3	0	3	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Not men-mentioned	{ Non-students	35	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	{ Students	20	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	{ Non-students	84	50	15(30.6)	2(7.6)	13(26.3)	10(38.4)	13(26.3)	3(11.4)	2(7.6)	—	2(7.6)	—	30(61.2)	18(69.2)
	{ Students	72	98	15(28.8)	11(16.6)	19(36.5)	18(27.2)	10(19.2)	27(40.9)	3(4.5)	—	—	—	27(50.1)	19(28.7)

The percentages in brackets indicate the frequencies of each factor mentioned by individuals and are taken from the total of those non-students and students who have responded to this question, viz., in the first case 49 and 26 men and women non-students and in the case of men and women students 52 and 66 respectively.

vague note on which some of the answers rest by use of words and phrases, "it depends", "in grave circumstances", "does not make for marital happiness", "not suited or well matched", and the like. Also included in this category are cases of deceit or fraud when one party feels wronged due to the partner at engagement being different from the partner at marriage, and is tantamount to a criminal offence. It is something which a party cannot forgive. It also covers cases of defective persons who are passed off as normal, but are subsequently discovered to be otherwise. It is not unknown in certain cases where one girl is approved of by the boy at the time of selection and quite a different girl is put forward at the marriage ceremony. Aware of this possibility, there is an apprehension in the minds of young respondents, a few of whom have given vent to it.

Considering the emphasis put on the different factors by men and women non-students influencing them in the choice of a mate, it is seen that among males, 30.6 per cent mention (i) mental and physical well-being, 26.3 per cent mention (ii) personal qualities, and (iii) incompatibility; whilst among the women non-students, only 7.6 per cent mention the qualities in (i) above, 38.4 per cent in (ii) above, and 11.4 per cent in (iii) above. Vice and economic security are not mentioned by males at all, but are markedly noticeable with females, being 7.6 per cent of cases in both instances. It appears that for the men non-students the emphasis is on any one of the factors, (a) physical and (b) personal, particularly the former and to them this is important and cannot be overlooked at the time of engagement, as perhaps they realize that it is the main contributing factor to a happy marriage.

For the women non-students, on the other hand, personal qualities and incompatibility are factors which they do not so easily overlook; although to a greater extent than males they believe that personal health and disability may be compensated. When looked at slightly differently from the male point of view, the highest frequency of factors is of health, hereditary factors and physical defects which are not considered lightly. Bad character, unfaithfulness, good behaviour and mutual trust follow next, the former two qualities not being tolerated and the latter two qualities being most desired. Incompatibility in matters of taste, nature and temperament rate equally. Mutual trust is most desirable. If the negative aspects of factors are too emphatic and undesirable, they may be considered

ground for breaking off an engagement, but even in such cases, the engagement is broken off after much thought and deliberation, thus confirming the general view that engagement is something serious as well as sacred.

Among the men students, 15 or 28.8 per cent, 19 or 36.5 per cent, 10 or 19.2 per cent respectively mention physical and mental well-being, personal qualities and compatibility as qualities desired in a mate. They do not differ in their opinions in this respect from non-students or in their emphasis on these qualities, but are perhaps even more emphatic about them. Among the men students, general health, hereditary diseases and physical defects feature prominently as seen from Table 19 (p. 146), but unfaithfulness and lack of mutual trust, incompatibility in nature and temperament is quite important to them, the presence of which may make them think twice before entering into a marriage.

Among the female students 11 or 16.6 per cent, 18 or 27.2 per cent 27 or 40.9 per cent and 3 or 4.5 per cent respectively mention the aforesaid three categories to which is added the fourth category, namely, vices. Probably being younger, they lay stress more on personal, physical and temperamental compatibility than women non-students. Age and experience perhaps make the latter less fastidious and more practical in their choice of mate. Hereditary diseases, physical defects, character, habits, unfaithful behaviour, incompatibility including incompatibility of opinions on important issues are serious considerations weighing with the parties in selecting their marriage partners. Being educated, also makes mental compatibility desirable, and they are more conscious about differences in culture and status which they would prefer to see reduced to the minimum.

As seen from the last column pertaining to other considerations in Table 19, it is not unlikely both in the case of students and non-students that where the situation is described in phrases such as "engagement against the will of the party", "arrangement without consent", "meeting someone more suitable and likeable", "insufficient information", "physical unsuitability", are suggestive of the fact that the parties will reconsider the relationship. In that event, the party might on subsequently changing his or her mind, break off the engagement. Female students particularly are sensitive to the male's "demand for money and marrying for money", to which she is strongly opposed, since it reduces her own import-

ance as an individual; and thus an anxiety on dowry considerably reduces him in her estimation.

It is obvious that the 'constitutional' and 'situational' factors mentioned above cannot be overlooked in mate selection; by and large, consciousness has set in, and the need for adjustment in final selection is now sufficiently well recognized, to deserve our attention and can only be ignored, at the cost of individual happiness with serious social consequences.

Table 20

PERIOD OF COURTSHIP CONSIDERED DESIRABLE BY
RESPONDENTS

<i>Period</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Non-Students</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Less than 6 months	54	31.7	35	26.1
6-11 months	35	20.5	37	27.6
1-2 years	22	12.9	11	8.2
3-4 years	4	2.4	1	0.8
Not particular, depends on circumstances	12	7.0	11	8.2
Not necessary, do not desire a period of courtship	18	10.6	17	12.7
Period not specified	8	4.8	8	6.0
Not mentioned	17	10.0	14	10.4
TOTAL	170	100.0	134	100.0

Courtship as already expressed is not the rule; but the desire for courtship or a period for the parties to make each other's acquaintance does exist. The short duration of courtship itself speaks for the courtship desired. Presumably in parent-cum-children selection there is a conscious recognition of the necessity of a period of acquaintance to know to some extent and to acquaint himself or herself with the partner chosen and not to go blindly into a marriage with a perfect stranger as the case used to be heretofore. In cases where it is personal choice or mutual choice, it is a desire to share companionship, and to learn and understand each other more deeply so as to avoid running any risk entailed in a personal choice, particularly where the partner belongs to a different caste, sub-caste, community or nationality. Further than this, present-day courtship does not venture. Hence in most cases

the period of courtship is short and is a hastened process during which there is an intensity of activity for obtaining information about one's partner, particularly as to his or her family background, as to hereditary diseases and such other matters. Perhaps parents' anxiety, desire to end the tension and fear of gossip often leads to courtship being abrupt. The scope of courtship normally is very wide and may include anything from conversational relations to, according to some, even sex relations. But the consensus of opinion is that pre-marital courtship be confined within certain limits so as not to jeopardize the marriage prospects, particularly of the girl, if ultimately the courtship does not lead to marriage. This is all the more important, considering the prejudice that persists against girls in our society, because when the engagement is broken off, the presumption is that there is something wrong with the girl. But as already noted courtship in our society is not considered as an elimination process. But it is more in the nature of a test which the parties undergo and its function is very limited and almost invariably leads to marriage. In fact, courtship with most presumes marriage. The nature of courtship desired by the respondents can be resolved into two patterns, viz.: (1) Largely symbolic communication, i.e., verbal and 'oral' communication. To this may be added group interaction within the family, at parties and social gatherings which are in a sense the 'rites of passage' which facilitate interaction of the self-conscious, inexperienced and conventional respondents, and (2) Emotive reactive behaviour, total and partial, i.e., inclusive of 'everything' meaning physical human relations and that of physical intimacy like kissing, embracing, necking and petting among others.

It is not surprising to find symbolic behaviour desired in courtship. The answers echo this desire. Healthy discussions on varied issues, exchange of views and ideas are some of the things desired and characterize courtship as being an highly ethical affair. The inference to be drawn is that the individual is eager to understand, to know, to learn and to develop good friendship with the mate, on basis of such expressions as, "only discussions on various aspects of life", "knowing each other", "good friends", "meetings" coming from the respondents and giving us an insight into the nature of courtship so-called. But courtship cannot be devoid of mutual expression of emotions and feelings. Though some may avoid giving in to expression, it is not always so. Those in the classification who come

Table 21
NATURE OF COURTSHIP CONSIDERED DESIRABLE BY
RESPONDENTS

	Students				Non-Students			
	Men	Women	Combined	Per cent from total respondents	Men	Women	Combined	Per cent from total respondents
<i>Symbolic communication</i>								
(a) Moving about and healthy discussions	19	15	34	49.3	23	7	30	30.0
(b) Exchange of ideas and views								
(c) To get acquainted with each other's family								
<i>Emotive reactive</i>								
(a) Inclusive of everything (inclusive of physical union)	17	11	28	40.5	25	16	41	41.0
(b) Everything except sex relations								
(c) Kissing, embracing								
Vague	4	3	7	10.2	15	14	29	29.0
TOTAL response	40	29	69	100.0	63	37	100	100.0

under emotive reactive behaviour, would undoubtedly indulge themselves in the free expression of their emotions, but this behaviour, from what appears from the answers, is cautious, restrained and limited in most cases. It is only in stray cases that there is seen a desire to indulge in sex-relations during courtship. A more detailed understanding of the attitude of the individuals in these cases to this issue emerges from the answers to the next question in the questionnaire.

The statements made will best shed light on the attitude to courtship and should be judged by themselves. The large majority in favour of courtship have their own way of looking at it, but there are also the extremists who are averse to the idea of courtship and do not desire it. To them, who say that they "don't consider it a good thing" or that it is "not desirable" presume, as one student remarks,

that "pre-marital courtship would bring unfavourable atmosphere; because there is the possibility of something happening which is not desirable to a married life". Or in other words, he imports into courtship something which would be harmful to, or would jeopardize a person's chances to live a happy married life.

Conservatism is so well entrenched in the social mores that it generally rules out courtship which becomes taboo, though perhaps consciously it is very much desired by the parties. But those who accept courtship as a prelude to marriage recognize that there is bound to be close attachment or some form of physical proximity, but all the same, they realize that there are limits beyond which courtship may not go. Kissing, embracing and necking are beginning to become acceptable in our society, and as one student remarked, "that is all, for if one advances further one is likely to lead oneself into trouble". There are also those who believe in everything except the "last favour", i.e. everything but not sex relations. They believe that nothing should be done that is unwholesome or that is likely to endanger the morals of the parties. Fear of one sort or another, fear of gossip, social disapproval or opprobrium, fear of consequences of all kinds in cases both of men and women students and non-students is apparent. The traditional upbringing presumably conditions their attitude to and outlook on courtship which is inhibited, halting and suspicious. The attitude to courtship apart from the few individualistic conceptions about it, reflect the moral and ethical code, and the deep traditional influence that has seeped through the generations.

It will take a long time before courtship as such is accepted without any mental reservations, or courtship is considered as a step to marriage. But that such an idea is gaining ground and that it is acceptable to society so long as it is kept within the bounds of conventionally accepted standards of morality, is encouraging as it goes a far way in breaking down the orthodox barriers and allows for greater freedom in selection of a mate. As one respondent affirms, "it provides a good opportunity to choose one's partner. I think that occasional meetings are desirable to come into contact with each other". A female student who is engaged says, "I personally feel since I got this chance, I came to know my life partner so intimately that we are both happy". It has to be admitted that pre-marital courtship is gaining ground, since personal consciousness in selecting a mate comes into play; and this is the

gradual trend of our youth who will want more personal association and more intimate and first-hand knowledge of the mate.

Pre-marital sex activity is not generally accepted for various reasons. Comments proffered by 4.7 per cent of students (seven men and one woman) and 5.8 per cent of non-students (seven men) show that acceptance of sex relations by some of them is evident. But this acceptance does not reflect or imply a change in the general outlook, but is rather the individual's way of thinking or conviction and subject to his own mental make-up, outlook and immediate environment. Other factors such as the community to which the individual belongs cannot be excluded, since its attitudes to certain issues may make for acceptance or otherwise, thus influencing the individual. It is probable that among non-students external environment has more influence on their ideas and behaviour.

Table 22

ATTITUDE OF RESPONDENTS TO PRE-MARITAL RELATIONS

	<i>Students</i>				<i>Non-Students</i>			
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Com- bined</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Com- bined</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>
Yes	7	1	8	4.7	7	0	7	5.8
No	45	65	110	64.7	51	32	83	62.0
Improper	7	14	21	12.3	11	7	19	14.3
All depends	-	-	-	-	3	1	4	3.0
Not mentioned	13	18	31	18.3	11	10	21	14.9
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

Some opinions expressed in this behalf are: "Nothing is too sacrosanct to be inviolate. On the contrary, suppression of urgent physical needs and concomitant psychological necessities is positively immoral. It is in keeping with my view of uninhibited sex. Physical suitability is at the basis of natural harmony. Suppression leads to perverted auto-erotism."

Over 60 per cent in both cases disapprove of pre-marital sex relations out of which about 14 per cent say that it is highly improper and immoral, women students and non-students more emphatically so, which is understandable. Fear of future consequences, specially to the women, influence of religion and the concept of 'sin' as associated with sex, and its psychic and physical

repercussions are amply projected by them in their various statements, e.g. (i) "All things except the physical union, which may result in spoiling the career in case of their failure to get themselves married"—a Maratha non-student (male); (ii) "Everything except sexual intercourse. This is because sexual intercourse has psychological, social and medical implications which should be seriously considered"—a Jain non-student (male); (iii) "Sex enters marriage and there is no need to carry on any experiment in this matter before the right time. Sex relations before marriage end up in frustration or neurosis for normal people"—a Hindu student (female); (iv) "No sex relations before marriage. I believe it is suicidal for girls"—a Maharashtrian student (female); (v) "No, not right; we have been brought up to believe that complete fulfilment should follow marriage and marriage alone. After all, conscience is your best judge, and what if engagement should break, it is always more hard on the girl and specially if she has already indulged in these things, psychological reactions, the guilty feelings are bound to follow and the girl has only herself to blame"—a Parsee non-student (female); (vi) "Definitely not, since if unfortunately wedding does not take place, what is the position of the opposite party?"—a Maratha non-student (male).

The functions of courtship so-called are to be viewed with reference to the ends it serves. These ends in our society are inseparable from marriage, and there is no tendency to distinguish one from the other in terms of emotional reactions, nor is there any attempt to seek emotional satisfaction from courtship alone. In our society, courtship such as it is determines marital selections in most cases and courtship criteria amongst us are those that go to make for a happy marriage.

According to the respondents the principal goal of marriage is the happiness of the individuals and it is with this object that the choice of mate is made, which is at variance with the object which parents have in view when they make or are instrumental in making the choice, when such factors as continuance of family name, acquisition of property or enhancement of status are taken into consideration. Other immediate considerations such as service, business or professional income weigh in parental selection of a marriage partner. So far as pre-marital activity is concerned, there is a socially approved norm which continues to be followed, which as the analysis has shown, is mostly in keeping with the traditional

pattern. Though a liberal or advanced outlook is found in a few instances, it is probable that even here facts may belie the attitude of these individuals, for very often there is a wide divergence in practice and precept. Therefore, in these few cases, one has to proceed with caution in drawing conclusions. Marriage is generally regarded as a spiritual union of two souls and hence physical relations are not desirable before marriage. "In pre-marital courtship", as one non-student puts it, "distinction between love that is divine and lust should be kept in mind". There is an increasing need to know one's future partner whom one will take for a lifetime. But generally the need to understand is realized largely by means of overt expression and mutual responses and not particularly through sex relations as a media for expression; communication between parties in majority of the cases being mostly verbal. Perhaps the strong terms in which sex relations during courtship is denounced is the outcome, among others, of a mind or attitude that is conditioned by early environment factors, that is, a certain degree of parental control and the general cultural and emotional climate of the home.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NEW LOOK AND THE OUTLOOK

IT IS NO WONDER THAT TODAY with the new ideas of freedom, equality, human rights and the vistas that have opened to youth through education spreading to all levels of society and as a result of advanced social legislation, there should be many rebellious or at least challenging thoughts passing in the minds of young people, specially

those living in families which try to retain their hold and control over them by means of the conservative tradition in the family.

The sociologist is well aware of the many important changes occurring in the field of marriage and family throughout the world, as a result of the varied peculiar impacts and influences relative to every country. The testing of new methods and techniques in Russia, the reversion, however temporary, to 'Kuche, Kirche and Kinder', in the so-called fascist pockets still found in European societies, the increase in the rate of divorce, the co-existence of static and dynamic elements within the family pattern, the gradual recognition and coming into prominence of the 'rational approach to sex' and other changes in America, the Continent and other places.

In our country, too, the works of the sociologists are pointers to the new aspects and issues arising before us from the pattern of our marriage and family.* To mention only a few, inter-caste

* e.g. the works, *inter alia*, of Kapadia, Kannan, Kuppaswamy, *op. cit.*; cf. also *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. XI, *op. cit.*, which discusses the 'Nature and Extent of Social Change in India', inclusive of 'Change in Marriage and Family in India'.

and inter-communal marriages, the constant mental and social conflict inherent in a situation where it is the joint family as against the individual or nuclear families, new ideas about love, sex and marriage etc., are features emerging from that pattern. Be that as it may. Still, there are serious and several difficulties that crop up when we attempt to make a prognosis of future trends. All the same, an investigation into the attitude of youth on the subject of marriage and the family, and an analysis of the changes occurring in those attitudes from time to time, may give us some factual basis for arriving at conclusions about the future to make us aware of 'the shape of things to come'. Attitudes and acceptance of certain issues as recorded here are regarded as reflecting possible subsequent acceptance, action and behaviour like coming events that cast their shadows before them.

Table 23

THE RESPONSE OF STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS TO
CASTE, INTER-CASTE AND INTER-COMMUNAL MARRIAGES

	Students				Non-Students			
	Men	Women	Combined		Men	Women	Combined	
			Total	Per cent			Total	Per cent
Caste								
marriage (a)	26	25	71	41.7	44	18	62	46.2
Favour (ab)	3	7	10	5.9	7	3	10	7.5
Inter-caste (b)	5	11	16	9.5	7	4	11	8.3
Inter-com-								
munal (c)	3	4	7	4.2	7	8	15	11.2
Favour (bc)	2	6	8	4.8	5	1	6	4.4
Neither (d)	2	1	3	1.7	1	1	2	1.4
Depends (e)	1		1	0.5	—	—	—	—
No objection								
to any (f)	18	16	34	20.0	9	14	23	17.1
Not men-								
tioned (g)	12	8	20	11.7	4	1	5	3.9
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

The two vital issues that confront us and our youth today are caste, creed, community and the joint family system which are ingrained in our society and have become the warp and woof of our social structure. These have become truncated to a certain extent

due to the external urban stimuli having their repercussions on the younger generation, as will be seen later. Students and non-students have been asked to express their views in relation to them and their attitudes, as seen from their reactions, will either augur well, or ill, for a new pattern of family living, which only time will show, or at least indicate the conflicting aspects of the situation which faces them today. The question asked in this behalf, in the first instance, is: "Do you favour, (a) caste-marriage, (b) inter-caste marriage, (c) inter-communal marriage?" And the second part of the question is: "If engaged, or to be married, state whether your partner is of your caste and community, or of a different caste and community."

Looking at it from one angle, caste-marriage is still highly favoured. Of students and non-students 41.7 per cent and 46.2 per cent respectively favour caste-marriage, among students, three-fourths being females and among non-students three-fourths being males.

Their immediate environment and indirect exercise of control by the family may consciously prevent females from deviating from the usual mode of choice, namely, choice made from among the members of one's own caste. Non-student male respondents, although with all the outside experience, would prefer to play safe by choosing a caste partner. Education and culture, it would appear, may not be so potent an influence as traditional conservatism and the inhibiting element of fear and risk.

There are, however, in both instances of students and non-students 5.9 per cent and 7.5 per cent respectively who would not too rigidly restrict their choice of mate to caste members and would be prepared to choose partners from castes other than their own caste. Of students and non-students 9.5 per cent and 8.3 per cent, and 4.2 per cent and 11.2 per cent respectively are for inter-caste and inter-communal marriages. Indeed, 20.5 per cent and 17.1 per cent say that, "it depends", "they have no objection" and "favour all". Taking those who favour inter-caste and inter-communal marriages with those whose choice of partner is not definite, caste or communitywise, though inter-caste and inter-communal marriages are equally favoured, it is probable that a very many of them are more liberal in their outlook and would consider choosing partners from a caste or community, in either case, different from their own. Whichever way it is considered, it cannot be gainsaid, irrespective of those who favour caste marriages, that personal

and mental qualities of the partner will probably outweigh caste considerations. This spirit of self-determination, it is obvious, will have to encounter opposition from orthodox circles for quite some time to come. The various views held in this respect go to substantiate the attitudes of those respondents who have expressed themselves in that behalf.

Of those students and non-students who have given reasons in support of marriages between parties of the same caste and who are opposed to inter-caste and inter-communal marriages (viz. 19 from 71 students and 8 from 62 non-students) believe that the last two create many problems such as difference in outlook and aspirations, difficulty of adjustment in matters of language, religion, culture, customs and behaviour, weak mutual relations, caste criticism and caste complex (specially in the intermingling of lower with higher caste) and immense difficulties they visualize so far as children are concerned, their character and conduct, their inter-religious problems, their marriage problems etc. It is felt that in inter-communal marriages rather than inter-caste these factors tend to be even more pronounced, as some of our respondents admit. The rest who have shown themselves to be in favour of caste have not vouchsafed to give particulars and hence it is difficult to know their minds.

It is probable that caste marriages are more prevalent because of vague apprehensions of future consequences and imaginary fears entertained on unsubstantial grounds regarding inter-caste and inter-communal marriages, although they may nurse a secret grievance against the caste system itself. Fear of other than caste marriages can be traced to expressions such as, "but children will have trouble", "I do not want my mother to be dissatisfied" (female), "I would like to have any kind of marriage in which there is mutual love and understanding if my mother permitted it" (female, Gaud Saraswat Brahmin), "the ties of caste are not so flexible as expected, there is fear of excommunication from the community" (male).

Those on the other hand who favour (b) inter-caste, or (c) inter-communal marriages feel that the caste system is deplorable as it is, according to one, "based on antiquated system of values and is contrary to the spirit of the modern times"; according to another, "marriage between two mutually affianced persons, no communal or caste bar in mutual affection and relationship". According to one female, "it enhances the dowry system", (b) inter-caste, and (c) inter-

communal, "looking at it in another way, it is biologically favourable".

However, there are those who favour 'e' and 'f' and say, "it all depends", "no objection to any". It appears that they value interpersonal relationship for what it is worth. Love, personal qualities of the partner, etc. are taken more into consideration and repressions, for instance, like, "I want to marry a girl not a caste or a community" are pointers to the optimistic trend of the future which may possibly brush aside considerations of caste, creed and community.

Whether for all practical purposes personal likes and dislikes will outweigh the quintessence of traditional practices and familial patterns, it is difficult to say. In fact, the trend at the moment as seen from our instances does not appear to be so. Of the 27 students who were engaged, among whom 21 have mentioned the caste or community of the partner, 18 have married persons of their own caste and community, and of them 2 have married persons of the same caste but of a different community. It is apparent then that the majority will probably go in for caste marriages as a matter of expediency and blissfully ignore the conflicts arising in inter-caste and inter-communal marriages in practical life.

Among non-students, 17 of whom were engaged, 13 have chosen partners of their own caste and community and 4 have mentioned partners of different caste and community, one having mentioned only different caste. In the case of these non-students, selection being slightly more personal, it is likely they will marry outside the caste and community, unlike the students who are still wavering and uncertain about their actions. Perhaps, there is no appreciable difference between men and women in the said two categories of students and non-students in this respect. The lurking fear that their action might amount to a violation of conventions of the caste caucus, is very obvious, bringing in its wake manifold doubts, mental conflicts and troubled thoughts.

The pattern of family living so essential to family stability, yet which is precariously placed in our country, still goes a long way to create mental, social and psychic conflicts. This is obvious, as reflected in the response to the question on their attitude to joint family living as against separate residence or nuclear families.

Among the students, 36.4 per cent prefer to stay in joint family, 54.1 per cent desire to live separately from the in-laws or married

Table 24

**WHETHER THE RESPONDENTS DESIRE TO LIVE IN THE
JOINT FAMILY OR AWAY FROM IT**

	<i>Students</i>				<i>Non-Students</i>			
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>	
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Joint	21	41	62	36.4	25	6	31	23.3
Only parents	6	6					11	
Both	10	27					15	
Not mentioned	5	8					5	
Separately	49	43	92	54.2	49	36	85	63.6
Depends—ac- cording to circumstances	—	4	4	2.4	3	5	8	5.5
Not particular	—	1	1	0.5	1	—	—	0.8
Not mentioned	2	9	11	6.5	6	3	9	6.8
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

or unmarried brothers and sisters. A small minority, 4.1 per cent say that, "they will act according to circumstances", "it all depends" and "not very particular about it". These perhaps signify the more practical as well as the more adjustable type. Among non-students on the other hand, 23.1 per cent desire to stay in the joint family as against 63.4 per cent who prefer to live apart. To 5.5 per cent, it depends on circumstances. Among non-students a more assured sense of independence and freedom prevails, partly as a result of hard experience, although looking closely, an overwhelming number of both students and non-students favour separate living for varied reasons. In most cases joint family includes married brothers and other dependents. In a few cases it implies living with parents only when there is no alternative, as in the case of an only son or the parents are too old and are dependent on the son. Among students, a large number of the females have a leaning towards the joint family—almost 50 per cent of them. Among non-students more males would probably live in joint family although one cannot deny that even here separation is the rule. Female students are young and more prone to think in terms of security in every way, including health, occupation, status, etc. which is not always possible in separate living as corresponding to benefits of living in joint family, there are in this case risks and hazards involved looking to

our economic and social structure. Being traditionally brought up, it may condition their action and to some extent their attitude as to the present way of family living, though mental peace is something that they most desire and would not consider it subsidiary to joint living. Women non-students being more independent in their way of thinking and assertive in their behaviour cannot so easily get acclimatized to living in joint family. It may possibly be that the higher cultural standard of the student group makes it more prone to joint family living and conform to the joint family system. Both students and non-students have their own reasons for their belief in the two different patterns of family living, depending in each case more on the individual conditions and immediate experiences.

On close analysis, it is observed that among students and non-students who have given reasons for wanting to live apart from the joint family (i.e. 71 from 92 students and 53 from 85 non-students), they have given specific reasons for doing so, which may be classified into three main categories, viz.: (1) Reasons which directly or indirectly curb or hamper or are a threat to their goal-inhibited values e.g., (a) the desire for freedom and independence, (b) development of their individuality, and (c) expectation of new roles to be played; (2) Those emanating from the socio-emotional climate of the home, these having much to do with the ego, e.g. personal conflicts, uneasy inter-personal relationships, etc.; and (3) Material amenities such as personal comfort, accommodation, economic circumstances, etc. All these make a subtle blending of the socio-cultural, socio-psychic and personal-social factors and an interplay of internal and external forces.

The frequencies in the first two categories both in case of students and non-students outweigh the third category, namely, the materialistic factor and a number of examples are cited in this behalf. In the first instance, 37 students and 32 non-students (the frequency rate combined of males and females being 52.1 per cent and 60.3 per cent in the case of students and non-students respectively) express their desire for freedom and independence to go with privacy and happiness. Again, 40 students and 28 non-students (the frequency rate combined of males and females being 56.3 per cent and 52.8 per cent in the case of students and non-students respectively) express their desire for personal comfort and make note of uneasy inter-personal relationships, whilst only 6 students and

2 non-students (the frequency rate combined of males and females being 8.5 per cent and 3.8 per cent in the case of students and non-students respectively) express their grievance about accommodation and servant problem.* It is evident therefore that the personal element is strong and there is a conscious striving to be independent and the 'do as I like' attitude of youth today is on the ascendant. Similarly, the desire for happy environmental adjustment is strongly felt as a means for well-regulated and happy family life.

A few expressions will bear out the truth of our statements. In the case of those to whom individual happiness and independence are supreme, all other human aspirations and motives take second place. For instance, a non-student (female) states, "I like to be independent and have my husband and family to myself. I want freedom in marriage and think and live as I want to, for the best of my family".

Stressing inter-personal relationships, another non-student (female) says, "it is too much to expect the newly-married to adjust themselves suitably to both—to each other and the in-laws".

Among those with a sense of idealism, an example is provided by a student (male) thus: "I do not see how orthodox ideas can be reconciled with advanced or modern ideas. It is difficult for the two to arrive at a compromise". A further example is provided by a non-student (male) in these terms: "To put into practice my ideals of marital life, e.g., setting of home budget etc., to enjoy the days of youth without unwarranted restriction".

A practical and realist picture by a non-student (female) is pointed in these words: "In-law interference is a hindrance to happy life. Very often the poor husband does not know whether to take his wife's or mother's side. Often, human nature being what it is, the mother feels that she is deprived of her son's affection which would otherwise have been showered on her. This leads to dissatisfaction and quarrelling." One student (male) expresses a dilemma and a very significant one at that: "I have great love for my mother who had to suffer in her young age. I will have equal love for my wife also. So in the case of conflict, there will not be good relations amongst us. But as I am the only son I will have to stay with my mother." Another student (male) says: "I would like

* It may be noted that the frequency rate as mentioned in this behalf is calculated only from those who have stated reasons for desiring to live away from the joint family, viz. 71 students and 53 non-students.

to live separately, without breaking relations with parents, because elder members of the joint family generally try to dominate the wishes of the youngsters and many times interfere in the private affairs of the couple, which I dislike. Moreover, self-reliance is the best help." Although the desire to separate, as can be observed, is overwhelming, obligation and duty are considered as of even greater significance. Again, although individual happiness and independence are looked upon as of utmost importance, yet they are subordinated to good relations in the family.

Those (39 from 62 students and 19 from 31 non-students) who have made statements in favour of the joint family, obviously continue to feel the need of its protective arm and the psychological comfort that it gives to some, either due to their own inefficiency or lack of self-assurance or genuine difficulties. They may also be susceptible to the joint family tradition, sentiment and the kind of 'security' it offers. Cases in instance are: (a) those who desire (i) a sense of satisfaction being faithful to the joint family sentiment of kinship, duty, responsibility etc., and (ii) a sense of security; (b) those who see the joint family as a buffer against the pressure of modern living and as a relief from pressing economic circumstances, accommodation being not the least of them, and other such factors; and (c) the personal essence and possessive instinct typical of joint family system—traditional mores etc. The frequencies in the abovementioned categories are as follows: 19 students and 14 non-students in category (a), (i) and (ii) (the frequency rate of males and females combined being 48.7 per cent and 73.1 per cent in the case of students and non-students respectively), 15 students and 6 non-students in category (b) (the frequency rate of males and females combined being 38.4 per cent and 31.5 per cent in the case of students and non-students respectively), and 6 students and 1 non-student in category (c) (the frequency rate of males and females combined being 15.4 per cent and 5.2 per cent in the case of students and non-students respectively).^{*} Relative to the above observations, there are a few remarks made by students and non-students which are noteworthy. Student (female): "The joint family affords opportunities of serving and getting service from other members of the family. Reduces expenditure and makes

^{*} The frequency rate in this behalf is derived from those who have given reasons for their desire to live in joint family, namely, 39 in the case of students and 19 in the case of non-students.

economic living possible." Non-student (male): "Joint family is the best insurance in all calamities and married life. Besides, it fosters a sense of loyalty and attachment in children." Non-student (male): "In joint family, economically living becomes cheaper, socially kinship becomes stronger, mutual help and love brings happiness to all the members of the family."

The joint family and caste system viewed in their complete setting are a complex phenomenon with varied personal and social obligations stemming from their social structure. In the context of the times and modern living, this complexity has become more complicated. The conflicting elements of unfailing loyalty and respect for tradition as against individual happiness, personal liberty and freedom from authority; sentiment as against practicability and tradition as against modernity are contributory to the mental reservations and the struggle that goes on within youth in this transitory phase. The conquest of this struggle and the achievement of personal happiness can only come with the amalgamation of the outer and the inner in the best possible manner for the personal and social betterment of individual personality.

A further question was asked in order to ascertain and locate the various aspects of the problem facing them. The question related to areas in which they would like to have their problems solved.¹ The question classifies the problems into four main areas, viz., physical, psychological, genetical and legal. Table 25 (p. 166) indicates that there are problems in more than one area confronting the individual at times.

The highest frequencies mentioned, however, are to be noted, particularly in the physical and psychological areas, that is, the first two areas, the frequencies being indicated as 67 and 64 (69.7 per cent and 66.6 per cent) respectively in the case of students, and 45 and 43 (68.1 per cent and 65.1 per cent) respectively in the case of non-students. The other frequencies are distributed as 33 and 30 (34.3 per cent and 31.2 per cent) and 22 and 23 (33.3 per cent and 34.8 per cent) amongst students and non-students in the genetical and legal sphere respectively. It is likely that problems relating to sex, personal fitness, etc. and problems which are psychological in nature, i.e. those relating to emotional fitness, neurosis etc. are at their peak in youth. As two of them frankly state, sex is their worry. In the case of minor neurosis,

¹ Question No. 39 of the Questionnaire. cf. Appendix II-B.

Table 25

**THE AREA IN WHICH RESPONDENTS WOULD LIKE TO HAVE
THEIR PROBLEMS SOLVED**

<i>Factors</i>		<i>Physical male and female</i>	<i>Psycho- logical male and female</i>	<i>Genetical male and female</i>	<i>Legal male and female</i>
One factor	Students 38 (22.3)*	14	17	2	5
	Non-students 27 (20.1)	11	10	2	4
Two factors	Students 29 (17.1)	25	18	5	10
	Non-students 17 (12.7)	12	11	6	5
Three factors	Students 18 (10.6)	17	18	15	4
	Non-students 12 (8.9)	12	12	4	4
Four factors	Students 11 (6.5)	11	11	11	11
	Non-students 10 (7.5)	10	10	10	10
Not men- tioned	Students 48 (28.2)	—	—	—	—
	Non-students 42 (31.4)	—	—	—	—
No problems	Students 26 (15.3)	—	—	—	—
	Non-students 26 (19.4)	—	—	—	—
Frequency of factor in each area	Students	67 (69.7)	64 (66.6)	33 (34.3)	30 (31.2)
	Non-students	45 (68.1)	43 (65.1)	22 (33.3)	23 (34.8)
Rank order	(Students	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
	(Non-students	1st	2nd	4th	3rd

* Indicates percentage.

N.B. Of students 96 i.e. 56.5 per cent have responded to this question and the frequency of the problem area is derived from these respondents, viz. 96, 66 or 49.2 per cent of non-students have responded to this question and the frequency of the problem area is derived from those respondents, viz. 66.

many may be reluctant to say about it more openly. Genetical and legal problems, that is, problems relating to hereditary factors, eugenics, etc. in the former case and age at marriage, registration, inter-caste marriage, etc. in the latter case, are fewer than the first two classes mentioned. Of these four classes, among students, nearly 84 per cent remain without the conflict within them being resolved, and 17 per cent have tried to resolve this conflict by having recourse to friends mostly and to parents, cousins, teachers, doctors, fiancé (according to one student) and scientific literature (according to some of them). However, as some point out, these sources may be

insufficient or unsatisfactory. A way out of the difficulty is by trying to rationalize the situation or to seek an escape, though in themselves they are not adequate relief and do not make for proper knowledge or understanding of the problem, much less give any guidance. Similarly, in the case of non-students, among whom approximately 7.4 per cent try through their own efforts, friends, relations, psychiatrists, doctors and scientific literature are also resorted to. If they have no proper source in whom they can confide and get the necessary and proper information, they try to resolve their mental conflict as they can or they repress it within themselves.

A few further questions (nos. 35 and 36)² it may be mentioned, elicited answers showing that nearly 91.1 per cent of students and 88.8 per cent of non-students would like problems confronting them on sex and marriage to be discussed intelligently. And over 90 per cent and 80 per cent of students and non-students respectively are interested in obtaining proper knowledge of sex, family, marital relations, inter-personal relationships, etc., which speaks for the broadened perspective in which these questions are evaluated. The ostrich attitude to sex and other personal questions of an intimate nature, are being viewed perhaps for the first time in a different perspective if not a liberal and correct one. This in itself is significant.

Questions with a view to gauge their attitude to marriage and family in general were put to the respondents and their answers denote their attitude to marriage in the present times. One of the questions was: "State whether in your view the questions of sex and marriage should be considered in the context of caste, culture, religion and law".

Over 50 per cent of students and non-students answered in the affirmative, while 37.1 per cent and 27.6 per cent of them in the negative. Caste, culture, religion and law on the whole do have a strong influence on them, although in certain cases any one of these may be more pronounced. Some, for example, may be inclined to consider the question of sex and marriage in the light of caste as in the case of 3.0 per cent of the non-students; 1.8 per cent of the students think culture has a significant impact. Law and religion, culture and religion, play an equally significant role in the case of non-students as is observed from Table 26. Although some are

² cf. Appendix II-B.

broad-minded enough to consider questions of sex and marriage rationally, some are without doubt influenced and their thinking on these issues is conditioned by the sanction and authority which these factors afford.

Table 26

THE RESPONSE OF STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS AS TO WHETHER QUESTIONS OF SEX AND MARRIAGE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE CONTEXT OF CASTE, CULTURE, RELIGION AND LAW

	Students				Non-Students			
	Men	Women	Combined		Men	Women	Combined	
			Total	Per cent			Total	Per cent
Yes	29	66	95	55.9	37	30	67	50.0
No	34	29	63	37.1	27	10	37	27.6
Marriage 'Yes'								
sex 'No'	1	—	1	0.5	1	—	1	0.8
Caste	—	—	—	—	2	2	4	3.0
Culture	2	1	3	1.8	—	—	—	—
Culture and law	—	2	2	1.2	1	1	2	1.4
Culture and re- ligion	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	0.8
Law	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	2.3
Law and religion	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	2.3
Religion	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	2.3
Caste, culture and religion	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	0.8
Depends	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	1.4
Not mentioned	—	—	6	3.5	7	4	11	8.2
TOTAL			170	100.0			134	100.0

The next question asked was: "Do you consider religious rites and ceremonies, psychologically speaking, as conducive to a happy marriage?"

Religious rites and ceremonies at marriage are still seen by most as largely conducive to a happy marriage. Of students 57 per cent and of non-students 63 per cent mention that it is highly desirable and that is because in their opinion these rites and ceremonies are essential for happiness in marriage. Obviously, religion and happiness are closely interwoven because of the psychological effect of

religion and its being associated with inner peace, harmony and contentment. Practically speaking, it means stability, solidarity, security and sanctity and a safeguard in marriage and creates a sense of responsibility. Religion prescribes rules of conduct and in so doing tends to align them with moral conduct. The religious and spiritual atmosphere is pervasive making marriage as sacred and God's blessings which are invoked at the time gives a psychological basis and encouragement for a happy married life. Religion to them means, in the first place, a recognized social sanction and acts as a pressure in moments of doubt and difficulty when parties waver in their loyalty and love, preserves conventional forms with their traditional and spiritual values. Thus religion may be as the concentrated expression of the whole collective life embracing social institutions and giving to them some of its inspiration and the essential being for the real essence of life and living.

Table 27

RESPONSE OF STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS AS TO
WHETHER RITES AND CEREMONIES, PSYCHOLOGICALLY
SPEAKING ARE CONDUCTIVE TO A HAPPY MARRIAGE

	<i>Students</i>				<i>Non-Students</i>			
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>	
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Yes	38	59	97	57.0	52	33	85	63.4
No	29	29	58	34.1	27	14	41	30.6
Not necessarily	—	2	2	1.2	—	—	—	—
Indefinite	—	2	2	1.2	3	2	5	3.7
Not mentioned	—	—	11	6.5	—	—	3	2.3
TOTAL			170	100.0			134	100.0

To those who think that religious rites and ceremonies are not necessary to a marriage, look at it in another way, that is, that they are so much driftwood of past customs and usages adopted in these days just for the purpose of appearances and providing an opportunity for ostentation and needless expense unwarranted by the economy of today, for, as is generally known, traditionally Hindu marriage with its ornate rites and ceremonies has always been an extraordinarily expensive affair.

Marriage to some is a civil contract and to others it is a sacred

union, or both, as seen from the answers to the question (cf. Question No. 22 vide Appendix II-B). Of students 12.4 per cent and of non-students 17.2 per cent say it is strictly a civil contract, while 81.3 per cent of students and 72.4 per cent of non-students say it is a sacred union. The latter shows that tradition and the religious feeling still effectively hold their ground in marriage.

Table 28

THE RESPONSE OF STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS TO THEIR
'VIEW OF MARRIAGE'

<i>View of marriage</i>	<i>Students</i>		<i>Non-Students</i>	
	<i>Men and women</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Men and women</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
A civil contract	21	12.4	23	17.2
A sacred union	138	81.3	97	72.4
Both	10	5.8	9	6.7
Not mentioned	1	0.5	5	3.7
TOTAL	170	100.0	134	100.0

The next question: "In which of the following ways would you like your marriage to be solemnized (i) Under the Special Marriage Act, 1954 (popularly known as registered marriage) only, (ii) Registered marriage together with religious ceremony, (iii) Religious ceremony only", shows that religion still plays a very important part in marriage whether consciously or subconsciously, as we have just seen, which is further substantiated by these answers.

Table 29

THE NATURE OF SOLEMNIZATION OF MARRIAGE DESIRED
BY THE RESPONDENTS

<i>Marriage to be solemnized</i>	<i>Students</i>		<i>Non-Students</i>	
	<i>Men and women</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Men and women</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Under Special Marriage Act	21	12.4	20	14.9
Registered and religious ceremony	98	57.6	49	36.6
Religious ceremony only	50	29.4	55	41.1
Not particular	1	0.6	3	2.2
Not mentioned	—	—	7	5.2
TOTAL	170	100.0	134	100.0

Of students and non-students 29.4 per cent and 41.1 per cent respectively desire marriage to be solemnized by means of religious ceremony only, while 57.6 per cent and 36.6 per cent respectively desire registered marriage together with religious ceremony. Although anomalous, the very conflict is depicted in the latter case. Registered marriage under the provisions of the Special Marriage Act, 1954 is availed of by parties specially if the marriage is inter-caste and inter-communal, as it is a safeguard against future eventualities. Marriage is very rarely thought in terms of its dissolution; and divorce is never welcome except very rarely. Today companionship in marriage, mutuality and equality in marriage between the partners, sharing of rights and obligations in terms of partnership in marriage is a new vision. Marriage is considered by most i.e. 67.6 per cent and 50.7 per cent of the students and non-students respectively, as a matter of mutual agreement between the parties concerned, which, looked at superficially, shows their broadened outlook. Of students and non-students 17.1 per cent and 34.3 per cent respectively say it is an indissoluble bond, while only 5.9 per cent and 6.0 per cent of them respectively say it is subject to dissolution.

Table 30

THE OPINION OF RESPONDENTS TO MARRIAGE

<i>Attitude towards marriage</i>	<i>Students</i>				<i>Non-Students</i>			
	<i>Men Women</i>		<i>Combined</i>		<i>Men Women</i>		<i>Combined</i>	
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
An indissoluble bond	18	11	29	17.1	26	20	46	34.3
Subject to dissolution	8	2	10	5.9	7	1	8	6.0
Matter of mutual agreement	46	69	115	67.6	44	24	68	50.7
Not mentioned	—	16	16	9.4	7	5	12	9.0
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

Two questions, although of a general nature on family planning and legislation are considered here so as to note the attitude of the respondents in relation thereto.

A question was asked whether they believed in family planning, its nature and extent. The overwhelming majority believes in family

planning, and some with reservations. There is the consciousness of over population in the country and its repercussions on the domestic, social and cultural development. Further, there is an emphasis on the higher standard of living, a better and healthier way of living, education and health of children and general comforts of the home and family. Over 90 per cent of students and non-students want from two to three children well-spaced with interval of two to three, and three to five years although a very negligible number want from four to six children. There is a desire to have at least one son, and the motto is to "plan your work and work your plan" and "children by choice not chance".

Table 31

THE RESPONSE OF STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENTS TO
FAMILY PLANNING

<i>Do you believe in Family Plan- ing for yourself</i>	<i>Students</i>				<i>Non-Students</i>			
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>	
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Yes	51	66	117	68.8	71	30	101	75.4
No	5	5	10	5.9	8	9	17	12.6
Not mentioned	16	27	43	25.3	5	11	16	12.0
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

As regard controlling reproduction, various views are put forward by the respondents according to their individual objectives, which reflect their broad outlook. Scientific methods are favoured and the men would not hesitate to undergo sterility after two to three children. Women ideally and ethically desire celibacy, self-control and the rhythm method. There is still much mistaken notion about family planning which is thought of as synonymous with birth control as distinct from planned parenthood. The latter is welcomed in most sections and predominantly so in the Christian community. Birth control is accepted by a large majority of the students, except the Catholic section.

Regarding the question of legislation, most of the students and non-students are not familiar with matrimonial legislation and can be excused. However, there are a few of them who have applied their minds to this question, and their opinions will be noted here.

Table 32

**THE OPINION OF RESPONDENTS TO PRESENT LEGISLATION
IN RESPECT OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE**

<i>Do you think present legisla- tion adequate</i>	<i>Students</i>				<i>Non-Students</i>			
	<i>Mer.</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Combined</i>	
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>			<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Adequate	35	48	83	48.8	45	10	55	41.0
Not adequate	7	6	13	7.7	15	8	23	17.2
Not well-versed in legislation	15	19	34	20.0	18	15	33	24.6
Not mentioned	15	25	40	23.5	6	17	23	17.2
TOTAL	72	98	170	100.0	84	50	134	100.0

There are two who state very significantly that there should be uniform legislation in India for all communities in this respect. One wants monogamy for Mohammedans and all other communities in India. According to one, adultery should not be made an offence. The grievance against giving and taking of dowry still persists, though legislation has been passed prohibiting its practice. They say it is still prevalent, only under another garb, that of giving dowry by means of gifts; this also, must be stopped. Separation for four years to obtain divorce is too lengthy, they say. Some also say that only the legal aspect is considered and the psychological aspect is avoided in divorce and separation and judicial separation is injurious to society. Alimony given to wife is inadequate and it should be 40 per cent of the husband's income and 20 per cent if she is earning, is also one of the opinions expressed.

To the question whether they have a philosophy of marriage and the nature and purpose of marriage, there was a response from 26 men and 28 women, that is, 31.7 per cent of the students, and 44 men and 19 women, that is, 47.0 per cent of the non-students.

According to men students, marriage is meant for "mutual happiness and success in life"; "spiritual and intellectual development"; "mutual physical fulfilment"; "companionship"; "satisfaction of biological urge"; and "procreation of children". It is noted that although biological need is stressed, procreation of

children is an important object of marriage and is frequently mentioned.

The female students consider marriage as "a sacred and spiritual union" and "indissoluble". They also emphasize the need for "companionship", "development of personality", "mutual esteem, affection and understanding", "a sense of loyalty" and "sacrifice", "adjustibility" and "upbringing of children".

The men non-students say. "it serves the partner's deepest needs", leads to "happiness", "companionship", "children", and responds to "biological instinct". It creates "a sense of duty", "responsibility", "develops personality", and "fulfils emotional and physical demands".

The women non-students feel that. "it is a spiritual union", "indissoluble", and it fulfils a need for "mutual devotion and love", "companionship", "security" and "procreation".

The philosophy of marriage is aptly summed up in the following words of a male non-student: "Marriage is a sacred union. It satisfies one of the most fundamental instincts in human nature, such as sex instinct and parental instinct and its importance in life cannot be overestimated. Besides, sex gratification and procreation is another essential element in marriage, viz., community life between husband and wife, implying love and friendship. Marriage to be worthy of the name should not be mere union of bodies but union of two souls." Another male non-student has to say of marriage, "a sacred union, in the sense that it should lend harmony, stability, fulfilment, satisfaction and happiness of individuals—these are ideals: it should however, provide a homely environment, and a sense of security for the children." A female non-student says, "companionship and security, understanding and adjustment. Physical side of marriage is not the sole purpose of marriage".

The major conclusions to be drawn from this part of the investigations are the desire for greater freedom and independence, individualism in youth, mutuality in husband-wife relation and a general awakening of sex knowledge, from which four broader implications may be drawn: (1) Youth is by no means socially radical as is often alleged; but both men and women have gained a new confidence and there is a consciousness of their rights and of the new horizons before them; (2) Religion and spiritual worth within on the one hand and the deep-rooted tradition beckoning to the

past on the other, play a subtle and significant role; (3) The slow pace of the general social change is apparent, in that the student today although he has attitudes different from those of his parents, he is not swept away by current opinion and has not turned to taking a radical stand or alternatives *vis-à-vis* the institution of family; and (4) Youth is, however, conscious and thoughtful of the controversial issues of the times and of the conflict of ideals and ideas which confront them.

Part Three

MARRIAGE FOR HAPPINESS

Pre-marital instruction must prepare the whole man: Social as well as individual, emotional as well as intellectual, moral and religious as well as physical. It must be rooted in the facts of economics, as well as built up to high ideals.

—RT. REV. MONS. IRVING A. DEBLANC
Foreword to *Fundamental Marriage*
Counselling

Marriage Counselling as an art is old, as a science newly born. If it can even in a small way, enable men and women to use their inner strength to lessen prejudice, soften hate, and increase tolerance, understanding and love, it will have accepted responsibility for contributing toward the possibility of permanent human relationships.

—EMILY MUDD, *The Practice of Marriage Counselling*

MARRIAGE FOR HAPPINESS

THE DATA in the preceding two parts (specially Part One) lead one to believe that man at times is diversified from 'unity', and as a bio-psycho-social whole is divided within himself, that is, at variance with his 'milieu interior'. Still at other times he is at variance with the greater unit—the family, that is, in the broader perspective he is in disharmonious interaction with his external or outer environment. Perhaps, it is the conditions prevailing in a complex society which prevents and obstructs the harmonious blending of the elements constituting the totality and is responsible for creating the diverse elements of negative, mental and situational conflict. The data further shows that the parties to marriage cannot reconcile themselves to the thought of separation and this subconscious reluctance to separate which prevades over the relationship of husband and wife prompts them to keep the relationship intact, or if terminated, somehow reunite some day. This urge and hope for reunion is not to be lost sight of. It brings us to the cardinal point, namely, perceiving man's personality in totality as a 'unitas multiplex', as one who is unity and, at times, is opposed to it. In trying to understand however what is 'inside of man', one is forced also to look 'outside of man', that is, to his immediate and secondary environment, even though one may probably find the same kind of receding vistas and expanding horizons in the realities upon which his life depends. It is for this reason the attempt to bring about a synthesis of the 'inner' with the 'outer', the composite individual, that one has to seek and endeavour to utilize mental skill and material resource.

Man's ignorance about himself, his nature, his physical being, his attitudes, etc., is strange as noted in Part Two. It is hard to believe that he does not want to know himself, or rather, does not yet know himself. This blissful ignorance does not arise from the

difficulty in procuring the necessary information, nor is it due to its scarcity or inaccuracy. On the contrary, it is perhaps due to his lack of effort, or in taking the extreme, due to the abundance of incorrect information or misleading and confused ideas about things accumulated through the generations which have fostered taboos, fears and doubts. Man no longer can be satisfied by just existing, but he has to evolve with the times mentally and otherwise. Material development without corresponding development of mind, culture, and the intellectual accoutrement is meaningless. He cannot remain in inertia nor in transition perpetual. His evolution imports a progressive mental, social and cultural improvement. If social movement is the order of the day, then development of body, mind and outlook, has to bring about a healthy 'osmosis', in which case, education and guidance with a view to enlighten youth becomes imperative.

For the proper interpretation of human life, one must 'see it steadily and see it whole'. An understanding of a living being necessitates, so to say, creeping within and feeling the beauty of his heart. To comprehend man as the 'whole man', one has to commune with him, interact with him and study him as he is and as he wants one to understand him, and not as one would like to make him out to be.

For such a genuine interpretation of human life two essentials are necessary. Proper communication and serial and resourceful action. This has to be done with a particular skill and the individual to whom this task is assigned has to be well-equipped for the task. It is agreed that man is an indivisible whole of extreme complexity. Besides, he is a community consisting of not only the prodigiously complex being analysed by our scientific techniques, but also the tendencies, the conjectures, the trends and aspirations of humanity. Hence there is no method capable of comprehending him in his entirety, his parts, and his relations with the outer world. The technique of handling the individual and his problem thus becomes 'eclectic'. We are obliged to seek the help of various techniques, and in this process we have to draw upon the various social sciences. Each of these sciences arrives at a different concept of their common object from the others. They abstract from man only what is attainable by their special methods. Man as known to the specialist is far from being the whole man, the real man. Counselling or the 'scientific art', as it may be called, must therefore

have potentiality to work in unison with the individual and the other sciences; it must act with kaleidoscopic effect of fitting every piece into pattern with new and exciting significance for accommodative and meaningful living.

The ensuing chapters deal with pre-marital and post-marital areas of counselling and discuss related problems, and also deal with counselling in its various aspects including its techniques and methods relative to our situation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REALM OF PREMARITAL--- “THE INTEGRAL MAN”

HUMAN EVOLUTION IS IN progress, and man is ascending towards a higher plane and in the higher echelons of the intellectual and spiritual ascendancy, lies the future of man. Man, the paragon of human creation, as a result of ‘natural selection’, is on the threshold of a new revolution, that is, ‘the humanist revolution’

according to Huxley.¹ It is this human sector, or the third phase of the evolutionary process, viz., the psycho-social phase, the other two being the organic and the cosmic that “the continuity and change operating, based not on the self-reproduction, and self-variation of matter, but on the self-reproduction, self-variation of mind and its products”,² which is largely responsible for this new organization of thought which implies a new attitude of man to his destiny.

Biological evolution cannot be divorced from its counterparts—that of social, material, mental and spiritual progress. We find that the same sub-processes operating in biological evolution are still at work in man’s cultural evolution, namely ‘cladogenesis’ or diversification, ‘anagenesis’ or improvement, and ‘stasigenesis’ or stabilization.³ Each step in the evolutionary process has brought

¹ Julian Huxley, *The Human Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), cf. Chaps. 1-3.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

its fears and difficulties, and with the new predominance of mind, man finds his problems even more unfamiliar. This last step marks a critical point in evolution, and has brought life into situations that differ in quality from those to which it was earlier accustomed. The advancement and improvement as seen in the psycho-social phase that is the predominant phase now, is through the progress achieved by the organization of thoughts and ideas and their embodiments in cultural patterns and social systems.

Human biological evolution has a tendency to be static, but human cultural evolution is on the move and operates by a form of feedback or cybernetic system. Something in the existing situation acts as a stimulus or a challenge to human society and human mind; and human society makes some sort of a response to the stimulus and challenge, though not always the right response, but there is always a process of challenge and response, resulting in directed change.⁴

Man in this complex process has to synthesize his bio-psychic outfit to the constantly changing socio-cultural cosmos to function as a 'whole' in the total physico-psychic socio-cultural matrix.

In attempting to study the complex process and man as a complexity within it, a medley of studies attempt to acquire a better knowledge of him, culminating paradoxically in studies like "Man the Unknown"⁵ and "Man for Himself".⁶ Endless surges on man, have tried to prove and lay bare the orderly meanings behind many a bizarre contradiction. Interpreters of human behaviour, the early psychologists and psycho-analysts revel in delving into many corners of man's deeply unconscious nature, experimenting and defining the way in which man sees, hears, learns, remembers, thinks and imagines, thus reigning over a controversy of mind over matter. Sociologists coin new phrases, such as 'socio-drama' and 'psycho-drama', which signify that the sociologists are trying to encompass and comprehend man's collective ideologies and inter-group relations and his private ideologies and inter-personal relations. Thinkers and philosophers and the Neo-Freudians and Neo-Adlerians have from time to time focused attention on varied aspects of man and are convinced that the searchlight must be turned on the whole man, and the integral man in order to resolve

⁴ *Ibid.*, cf. Chaps. 1-3.

⁵ Alexis Carrel, *Man the Unknown* (Wilco Edition, 1959).

⁶ Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd, 1960).

his inner identity to the outer one, with a view to comprehending him as an 'integrated totality'.⁷

Sociology, psychology (social-psychology) and the social sciences give us newer perspectives, but unrecognized new fields continue to elude us, for example, parapsychology, which points to unrealized potentials whose meaning at the moment is all too dim!⁸ However pursued, the search it is apparent, is in the direction of striving towards an integral man. How far we can visualize, or in reality comprehend this man and serve him towards attaining his goal is a point in question. It is with a hope that if the individual manages to develop into a truly integrated personality, with a full realization of his potential capacities, he then is making unique and important contribution to the advancement of the cosmic process. The individual is not, or at least must not, be just a cog-wheel in the social machine, a cypher in the vast, enormous evolutionary process; the fully developed individual is the highest organization of which we have any knowledge, and is an harmonious and well-organized personality as the resultant of the individual's contribution to the overall process. One has, therefore, to elicit the full possibilities of the psycho-physical organism, a combination of human mind-body and an important emphasis of evolving life.

The earlier chapters dealt with in Part Two, "Marriage on the Horizon", brings into the picture the problems of 'marginal' youth, which have emerged on our scene in this century as a significant symbol characterizing the 'critical mood' of the modern scientific era.

The importance of the period of character formation and the significance of the period when impressions are formed on maturing impulses in adolescents and early adulthood need no emphasis, and the stress and strain for which the latter are to be equipped in life cannot be gainsaid. The need to understand the personal problems of youth and in a way its larger adjustment to its immediate environment and its still larger periphery, the community, in essence is mainly for its future social and communal survival. This is not necessarily meant to imply that the family has failed to function

⁷ One may also note Aristotle's 'Movement toward fulfilment', or *entelechy*, the efforts of Gestalt psychology, of Kurt Goldstein or Gordon Allport, to find fulfilment in the wholeness of the individual.

⁸ Gardner Murphy, *Human Potentialities* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd, 1960), p. 9.

in this behalf of giving adequate attention to its young members, that outside forces can take its place, but what is implied is that the application and understanding by the family of its members becomes limited as new problems are born of the changing times, and that too due to handicaps not necessarily of its own making. The lag created in the process of adjustment to the transitory phase, of which at the present moment we are victims, victimize more so the younger generation, with social pressures, demands, compulsions and regulations on the one hand, and a steady challenge to blend the old and the new, or to emerge anew on the other. This challenge can only be met with commensurate, adequate and timely guidance. This is not to say that guidance programmes, however well chalked out, are *ipso facto* evidence that an individual will come into his own and that it is the 'whole education', though one may concede that alertness and awareness to the increasing responsibilities, the capacity to cope up with life's demands, the wisdom to see and evaluate issues in their proper perspective and objectively, enriches the individual integrity and strengthens his calibre and enables him to have a keener vision of insight into his problems. Digressing a little, it is essential to note some complexities arising from situations, since guidance commensurate with the need proceeds in accordance with the nature and setting of the problems concerned which may be environmental, situational, personal-cultural, socio-religious, or otherwise.

The framework of the family today poses certain problems and certain problems face the family, due to external stimuli. As noted earlier, although the family is largely conservative, vascillation between permutations and combinations in its constitution is virile. There are families which style themselves as orthodox and conventional, conventional but advanced, orthodox but advanced, and rigidity in any one class exclusively is not clearly visible owing to gradual changing loyalty and increasing challenge to traditional family ideology; and even this duality in pattern is void to make itself explicit.

The term 'advanced' is controversial as applicable to our society at the present moment, since there is no standard which we have attained to go by and that makes further comparison fruitless; what is more, is that assuming that there is change in extrinsic evaluation of smaller issues, does it necessarily accompany a corresponding intrinsic value change within? (Take, for example, in an individual's

values, ideologies, etc.) This is not yet in evidence, except in a few cases. What is apparent, then, is an unintegrated three-layered mould in which the present family is cast: intrinsic orthodoxy, conservative and advance.

This complexity in setting, what may aptly be termed 'a disorganization in transition' makes adjustment difficult particularly for youth and young couples and the outcoming frustrations are encountered in lack of adjustment problems, role conflicts, personality maladjustments, guilt complexes, etc. It is only firm conviction or rationalization on the one hand, or perfect co-ordination or 'set-to-pattern' in tradition that individual necessity and/or freedom will meet social sanction and authority unopposed.

Our youth usually lives in an extended family environment and the traditional-oriented practices beginning from personal toilet and dietary habits to religious, cultural and social practices are still implicit. Usually, their parents are also conformists to the immediate environment and they may influence the children although not all of them do so rigidly now. Thus there is a lag between orthodox forces and modern ones, giving vent to inner conflicts.

The apparent indifference to the socio-religious rites and rituals, belie the individual's intrinsic belief in them, and although largely individualistic in character, they are much more firmly embedded in the traditional mores from within. A sort of rational outlook combined with traditional conformity makes a strange combination which is in a state of flux, making for imbalance in the individual's outlook on and attitude to certain personal and social issues, as they cannot be disassociated from the religious trappings.

Most parents, mothers predominantly, are only domestically trained and their horizon is limited. Family living involves being mostly around the hearth and home; and upbringing of children is done mostly by maternal instinct, which although it creates deep and emotional attachment between parent and child does not necessarily foster intelligent family living. The external body requirements are well cared for and nourished, but inner desires and inner forces and urges are cabbined and confined. The parental role in the home is inadequate and does not go far enough to supplement this gap between the external and internal; and at present times outer adjustments and inner attachments do not coincide. The external stimuli overwhelm and overpower the weaker resistance of youth to change. These external influences are strong and

manifold and the individual is caught in a whirlpool of inner conflict. If he ventures afar or makes bold to innovate or experiment he is left saturated in guilt complexes. If he conforms to tradition, he is dissatisfied and is at variance with his surroundings and he cannot cope with other social demands. If the individual is challenged by the *status quo* and he meets the challenge, parents resent it. The existence of these opposing elements and oddities do not encourage the individual to participate and realize himself in the social process but make of him a social misfit, and it is these odds which overwhelm him that today makes guidance *per se* invaluable and imperative.

In the process of growth which is a gradual rhythmic scheme, the ascending crisis beginning at puberty and reaching its climax in virility in the second phase, is a period which necessitates guided action. These phases more particularly give rise to certain characteristic emergencies and the individual must rise to the occasion in his struggle for existence. This is not to suggest that as the individual matures, he is without problems, but one can say that by then the normal individual directs his own course and is on his own so far as his aims, outlook and 'style' of life are concerned. Here too, at times, frustrations and disappointments encountered in the process of living, or some restriction of or setback in movement or action halts the normal and gradual process, and hence growth and action, may for a time be impeded. However, in the first two phases, the subjective climate provided by his native physiological and kinetic endowments stresses the bio-physical aspect of the individual with stress on the biological foundations, his physis and anatomical structure, his glandular and hormonal structure, and at times any maladjustments may create psychic disturbances such as minor neurosis, compulsive obsessions and peculiar behaviour patterns, etc.

Secondly, a harmonious synthesis of the individual psycho-social being cannot afford to neglect the dynamic factors involved in the mental life of the subject and his interests, drives, values, motives, complexes, desires and ambitions cannot be slighted. If this is done either by social group restrictions or by social pressures through taboos, inhibitions, restrictions and neglect, etc., they may give rise to deficient personal types, for example, extroverts and introverts, not to omit mention of those belonging to Riesman's three-fold classification.

In addition, the adult 'self-system' is governed by higher integrated systems, specially those connected with social goals and value systems and the like which are more difficult to derive from basic experience of the growing child. From this derives the 'pseudo-moral problems' which actually symbolize a person's unwillingness or inability to face up to the fundamental values and codes of his culture, which is a form of escapism in a crisis situation arising other than from the person himself (the personality).

The nature of the guidance programme, then, depends upon the end product, namely, the individual it is wished to see fulfilled and realized in our society, and it will, therefore, be incumbent on us to see that all the forces co-ordinate to bring about the nexus of his individuality for the optimum development of his personality befitting to our modern times. To begin with, it is necessary to understand youth and its problems and interpret them to the needs of the times or the situation involved. In the first place, youth confronts problems of a general nature which may arise from the 'constitutional soil', that is the physical self. In this respect, there may be lack of information, some unconscious fears which spring from ignorance in which they are steeped, and at times, as a result of neglect in attending to the young. As the earlier Tables indicate, there is hardly any discussion at home regarding personal preparation for marriage, except an arrangement of it. Preparation, such as it is, by and large is natural and taken for granted and children find out for themselves through the media of friends, films, etc. At times, therefore, it is probable that misinformation may do more harm than good. It is also noted that so far as preparation for marriage is concerned, people proceed on the assumption that ignorance is bliss, and therefore the need for guidance for pre-marital instruction of this section is paramount (although it apparently seems unnecessary). Far from ignorance being bliss, ignorance is tragic as relevant data in the earlier part of this work discloses. Take, for example, a number of women and men in the sample studied, who have never shown any desire or need for physical examination and consultation—even though it turned out they had some malfunction or abnormality (disfunctioning) of the sexual organs. This is partly neglected by parents who prefer to get such sons and daughters married somehow rather than take the responsibility for brining up children in the proper way. In homes where parental policy has been negative, boys and girls are ill-prepared mentally

and physically for marriage. In a home in which the mother's own pre-marital adjustment is unsatisfactory, the children specially get the idea that sex is vulgar, dirty and sordid. It could also take place as a result of overly strict religious interpretations. The girl has grown up never having any appropriate sex education at any time. She just does not know what is expected of her. As a result, she develops warped notions and vague fears. She does not know her own anatomy or that of her husband. She is ignorant of what actually happens in intercourse and in child-birth. Besides wrong education, there are some conditioning situations which penetrate the personality even more deeply, but which grow out of the same ground, and are not made known easily, such as homosexual leanings; some early sexual event, possibly now forgotten, shocks suffered by the girl (specially psychologically). Perhaps, the last was not so much the action itself as the emotional reaction with which her elders surrounded it that caused the shock. This trauma remains in her as to inhibit her future free response; early or initial experiences may have been actually painful to her. Such events sometimes occur in childhood or in adolescence; some get no love as children, rejected etc.; or due to parent or sibling fixation; or influence of neurotic parents which also interferes with healthy response. Problems may still be those of inter-personal involvement focused on parent-child relationship, siblings, etc. due to inadequate or maladjusted role interaction. This suggests a need for general instruction to youth or, if one would like to call it general preparation or general education for youth.

The pigeon-holed ideas of orthodox and conservative parents are a handicap to the young people of today who do not always consider a grand wedding ceremony as a prelude to a happy marriage. They would like to marry a person of their choice and would like to get to know the individual. Although they may not yet appreciate the full implication of courtship in its true perspective or are not permitted to do so, a desire to come closer and discuss and understand one's future partner is becoming apparent. Inter-caste and inter-communal selection, though desirable, invites trouble in most cases and the role of the mediator here emerges as important to prevent drastic happenings disrupting the parent-child relationship. Guidance in selection is coming to the fore, as people who go in for love marriages do at the same time hesitate and would like to talk over matters objectively with someone other than the home

person in whom they can confide. With the awakening consciousness of young people, certain problems are anticipated by couples prior to marriage, regarding the pattern of family living (joint, extended or nuclear) and an amicable understanding is necessary in this behalf as well as for pre-planning of the future home. Family Planning is gaining consciousness and couples would no longer like to remain ignorant in this respect, and sane and sound information is easily sought for by youth. Other problems such as adjustment in the economical spheres, and employment, specially of girls after marriage, and working roles too are increasingly necessary areas of discussion among modern couples.

Youth on threshold of marriage thus have problems confined to more particular areas, that is, nature of courtship, selection and adjustment to the mate, conflicts between parents and children in selection, uneasiness and anxieties peculiar to this phase, and this could be termed more appropriately pre-marital instruction or pre-marital preparation. Both these however come within the realm of pre-marital and are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The pre-marital sphere then rightly comprises of two spheres: (1) general instruction to youth, which may well be a process of education,¹⁰ (2) pre-marital instruction.¹¹ This may further

¹⁰ The Denning Report in this behalf is worthwhile noting: "The basic causes of marriage failure are to be found in false ideas and unsound emotional attitudes developed before marriage, in youth and even in childhood. The right time to correct these attitudes and ideas is before marriage. There is a need for a carefully guided system of general education for marriage, parenthood and family living available to all young people as they grow up, through enlightened co-operation of their parents, teachers and pastors; and in addition specific marriage preparation of engaged couples to give them instruction and guidance to ensure the success of their marriage" [Denning, A. T., *Final Report of the Committee on Procedure in Matrimonial Causes* (H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1945), p. 5; quoted by Griffith, *Marriage and the Unconscious* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957), p. 169].

¹¹ Mudd and Goodwin and Mudd classify from their data pre-marital into three major spheres, viz. (1) General Preparation for Marriage, (2) Specific Situation of Problems, (3) Involved Disturbance and/or Problem. (In Western countries, where the emphasis is on saving the rate of divorce, pre-marital has much emphasis as preparation for marriage essentially; and general preparation is usually given in the home or at school or at college level. In our case, however, although odds are heavily against terminating a marriage, its endurance in modern times requires preparation and education for proper and healthy marriage and family living. It is better and more congenial family living that we have stress on. Ignorance, specially personal, lack of education, demands

involve (a) a general discussion, (b) a specific situation or problem, (c) involved disturbance and/or problem.

More appropriately a general education in preparation for youth would include four areas of education, compounded together, i.e., sex education, education in emotional development and human relations, education in 'home-making' or 'home science', and education in parent-craft.¹² The goal being to (a) increase the general understanding of adjustment of youth to its immediate and outer environment and inter-personal relationships, (b) develop sound and healthy attitudes to vital issues of life, (c) to relieve uncomfortable feelings and alleviate anxiety, (d) to make help available in specific or general problems through group participation by referral to a specific age-group, or general problems through group participation, or individual attention to individuals with specific or involved problems.

Sex education which is discussed much today by social workers is only part of the total programme of family life education,¹³ and the two should not be confused. Although desirable at certain levels, unless total alignment of youth and parents is favourably established and an adequate and qualified body of persons to impart this education is forthcoming, this aspect is liable to be miscarried. More urgently a field which calls for such guidance at the moment are inmates of social welfare institutions where children and adolescents with or without their parents (mothers only) are sheltered. 'It is to these temporary 'broken' homes that preventive and educative aspect becomes an absolute necessity for

physical and mental guidance, specially in our urban setting of today where individuals try to keep pace with the times.) [E. Mudd, *The Practice of Marriage Counselling* (New York: Association Press, 1951), p. 184. See also Goodwin and Mudd, 'Marriage Counselling' (Note on Pre-Marital Counselling), *Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behaviour*, Vol. 2, Ed. by A. Ellis and A. Abarbanel (London: William Heinemann; Medical Books, Ltd, 1961), p. 691].

¹² cf. David Mace, 'Marriage Guidance Service', *Journal of Family Welfare*, Vol. III, January-February 1957, Nos. 1-2, pp. 7-13.

¹³ It is worth noting that at the International Congress on World Population held at Cheltenham in 1948, Griffith, moved the following resolution: Education for family life should be a continuous process, designed to give biological, psychological and spiritual understanding in the principles of personal relationships among the peoples of the world so that they can acquire standards of responsible behaviour in their sexual life which are devoid of fear and guilt and are in a wise relationship, not only to their religious and cultural background, but to the needs of mankind in general.

constructive rehabilitation to family life, and calls for both aspects of pre-marital preparations, viz. general and specific.

Now besides general education a specific programme of education is indicated, that is to say a programme of pre-marital education. In the field of pre-marital instruction, in dealing with couples about to be engaged, engaged, or to be married, the focus is on a sound preparation for marriage. This may mean to include anything from a general discussion on courtship, mate-selection, personality-trait evaluation, right to home economics and budgeting. More fittingly a preparation for marriage¹⁴ deals with personal problems, viz., (a) physical or biological, that is, problems relating to anatomical aspects of marriage, perennial hygiene, sex knowledge, pre-marital physical examination. The health of mind and body are natural requisites of happiness. The physical or biological self is important to any marriage as it is the basis upon which healthy and happy marital adjustment can be built. Hence to the girl and the boy pre-marital preparation must make known to each of his or her own physical endowments and in general that of the opposite sex. Such knowledge as the anatomical aspects of marriage, that is the body as a whole, the generative system and its function, the endocrinology of marriage and its relation to sexual development, for women particularly knowledge about menstruation and the climacteric conception and pregnancy. It is also essential normally for males to know about venereal diseases. The pre-marital examination to those who desire it would include apart from the theoretical knowledge a practical physical examination for personal satisfaction and deal with physical examination of the couple, the 'mental examination', communicable disease and hereditary

¹⁴ It may be noted that a beginning has been made in some Catholic parishes and they adopt the text prepared by the Marriage Preparation Service, of the Catholic Centre of the University of Ottawa, Canada, and the following areas are covered by them in a course of 15 lectures: (1) The present situation with regard to marriage, (2) The ideal husband-the ideal wife, (3) Love and happiness in marriage, (4) Courtship and engagement, (5) Masculine and feminine psychology, (6) Economic preparation, (7) The spirituality of marriage, (8) Civil Law concerning marriage, (9) Canon Law concerning marriage, (10) The marriage ceremony, (11) Masculine and feminine anatomy and physiology, (12) Relations between husband and wife, (13) General hygiene, sex hygiene and venereal diseases, (14) What is allowed and forbidden in marriage with special regard to family planning, (15) The first months of marriage. Although broadly stated this instruction is drawn up to counsel a Catholic couple, some fundamental concepts however, would be applicable to all.

defects, the definite purpose being of determining the adequacy of health and hereditary foundation of the proposed mating and to promote adjustment in marriage by inquiring into inhibitions, fears and frustrations and types of ignorance that may interfere with conjugal harmony.

(b) The psychological, that is, problems relating to emotional fitness, neurosis, psychological problems arising from maladjusted inter-personal relationship or any such disturbance which may require clear thinking and precise guidance.

(c) Genetical problems, that is, dealing with the eugenics of marriage—this usually is meant to give a full information to both parties of any hereditary defects in either of the individuals or in their ancestors which might bring about defects in offspring. This does not go beyond scientific facts and should in general permit the individuals, who should be fully informed to make up their own minds concerning marriage.

(d) Sociological, here the focus is to be on role-interaction between the couples and the family unit. It also deals with the objectives of marriage, that is, companionship, mating, upbringing of children, etc., along with the adequate marital roles of husband and wife in marriage, such as affectional, conjugal, domestic roles, etc.

(e) Economics of marriage dealing with economic problems being some of the most frequent sources of friction in marriage. Problems concerning young working wives, budgeting, investing and savings.

(f) Ethics, on moral issues confronting individuals and the understanding of marriage within the specific mores and practices of each community.

Broadly speaking, although one can say that many of the troubles and disharmonies, either apparent or hidden, which are found in cases of youth entering marriage and desiring help and advice and those who need education in marriage although belated, they show that much can be largely eliminated or minimized if proper marriage preparation is imparted.

This does not however imply that difficulties cannot or will not arise. They can, and always will arise, but it is possible that they can be detected earlier, and therefore dealt with more easily if greater facilities were made available, one of them being properly trained personnel to do this kind of work. Marriage preparation and marriage education will have their greatest value when they become a basic necessity to the social structure.

Knowledge in this behalf is not infused, nor is it instinctive; it is not obtained by osmosis. It is functional, balanced and integral. The tragedy is that ignorance here sometimes results in heart-breaking moral and social consequences for the couple, their children and for society at large.

"Pre-marital instruction must therefore prepare the whole man social as well as individual, emotional as well as intellectual, moral and religious as well as physical. It must be rooted in the facts of economics as well as built up to high ideals."¹⁵

With the acceptance of evolutionary humanism, there is a need to seek a proper understanding of man's constructive place in the universe. His past progress in the evolutionary process however serves as a guide and projects his purpose into the future and prepares us, broadly speaking, to an awareness of increase of control, increase of independence, increase of internal co-ordination, increase of knowledge, of means of co-ordinating knowledge, of elaborations in intensity of feelings, which go with such evolutionary movement. Modern thought, with the limelight on man, a multi-form dynamic unity, sees him as a part of a stupendous mechanism playing an allotted part as 'organization man', 'economic man', etc. But we cannot forget that the uniqueness of man still lies in the family of man, as an individual in the family, as an individual in society. Integrated man, a mind-body continuum or in other words, an integration of his inner and outer world is a recent quest in psychology. Man in interaction with society or man integrated with society is a synthesis, which is *sine qua non* of man in society as the sociologists see it. Man however has to encounter into 'hostile life' and therefore is confronted with the compelling need to create an organic identification with what he is and what he does. It is only thus that the mind can free itself from the thrall of conformism, traditionalism and abstraction. For this then we need 'education to reality', and education for enlightened citizenship, a necessary corollary to family life education.

¹⁵ Cavanagh, *Fundamental Marriage Counselling* (Cork, The American Press Ltd, 1958), p. x.

CHAPTER EIGHT

POST-MARITAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE FAMILY

LOOKING BACK TO THE previous part "Marriage on Trial" the family as seen by us is not in its 'natural' or 'normal' state, i.e. as one would expect a family composed of husband and wife living together in the home with or without children, or at times the 'potential' couple living in harmonious interaction; instead it de-

icts marital separation of an informal nature, temporary or semi-permanent in its time sequel as in the case of desertion, effectively breaking the social continuity of the family while maintaining its legal order. This overt expression of internal disorganization is more prominently manifested by the wife who is the more 'mobile' partner in our society and who at most times takes resort to institutional aid. Marital separations are also seen in the more formal way through Court proceedings depicting permanent estrangement or in most cases a determination to terminate a disharmonious relationship.

Both these manifestations of marital separations depict the 'disorganized fringe' of marital instability and broken homes in our society today. But there are perhaps many more who either due to lack of psychic energy to disrupt the marriage, lack of money or legal knowledge, restrained by religious taboos, inhibited by fear of public opinion, or possible repercussion upon their personal, social and professional status do not make their unhappiness public. Apparently then, much conflict still remains 'hidden conflict'.

From our data the cases investigated reveal the two-fold phenomenon in which family instability results, viz. (i) disintegration, (ii) disorganization. In the former we find either partner in a disharmonious relationship or in estranged circumstances seeking release through divorce, nullity and annulment of marriage. In the second case we find cases of 'informal' maladjustment as in cases of desertion as seen through institution, and those maladjusted cases taking recourse to law on grounds such as judicial separation, and restitution of conjugal rights, which may or may not lead to termination of marriage, in both cases however it is symbolic of the malaise in modern marriage.

These disharmonious relations however as depicted in domestic discord and in a larger way through desertion and divorce today, may be considered in any one of the fundamental aspects. (1) As symptomatic of maladjustment in and more properly, a lack of adjustment, to the changing social order, accruing more from a shift in emphasis in roles, values, ideologies in the present setting—a transitional one and the impact of urbanization and industrialization. (2) A general break-up of the 'family complex' as indicating the lack of adjustment between husband and wife in response relations for whatever implicit reason as made evident due to the pressure of the times and the pursuit of individual fulfilment of which the individual is becoming increasingly conscious. We have already discussed the factors for the apparent disorganization and malaise in our marriage and family in detail in the introduction and will not go into it here now. In our democracy, however, traditional institutional controls continue to hold the family together but the increasing individualization in the metropolis continues to extend a challenge to the roles of the family within and without.

Although marital adjustment in normal circumstances needs efforts in a complex urban setting it is even much more so. Marital adjustment is complex than it may first appear. Two persons entering marriage must adjust to each other on various levels. On the organismic level, they must adjust to each other's sensory, motor and emotional and intellectual capacities. On the personality level, they must adjust together to their total environment, including such matters as a new household, children, provision and preparation of food, relatives, friends, recreation and work. This adjustment is by no means static, it is a dynamic process; marital adjustment is thus so varied and many-sided that it must

be considered in several perspectives to be appreciated and understood. However, the pattern of adjustment of any married couple remains always highly an individualized one. Most couples in our society it appears try to have a workable and at times a satisfactory adjustment to marriage and are seemingly contented. There are others however, as our sample shows, who find marital adjustment so difficult that their marriage is not something to be enjoyed but something to be endured.

The causation in many an unhappy marriage may lie in what one actually brings to a marriage in the first place and secondly, how one conducts and develops the individual potentialities in the process of marital life. We note, however, that the bulk of marital discord and frustration are produced by very specific conflicts of interests which cannot be attributed all the while to definite weaknesses of either person. It is many a times the partner's behaviour and the personal and social roles played which play a part in causation, and even here it is some specific phase of his behaviour in relation to some wish to his or her partner denied that produces trouble.

At times both partners at first may be well adjusted to life in general, but may later develop maladjustment to each other, emanating from personal reasons and personal conflict or external sources rupturing the personal adjustments which then spreads to wider spheres. There may however be couples where due to extraneous factors from the beginning as in case of forced marriages who by building up aversion and resentment towards the partner may impede or hamper inter-personal interaction and effective role play between the partners.

Discord as seen arising from 'extra-familial' causes so affects the personality as to make the family less happy and eventually thereby to make the spouse unhappy. Such for instance may evolve from role playing, and deficiency and complex over role play in the family situation, leading to breaking down of the relationship. Relations of members of the family to other relatives of the extended family, creates difficulty in efficient and successful role playing, in particular in adequate role functions which may stem from differences and resentment within such an environment, the adjustment of satisfactory relationship with the in-laws present a difficulty in most marriages, in our society, more so in-laws and relatives with regard to the girl. Marital partners and other members of the family may each have different aspirations and evaluations of the

roles which they play and expect of these in marriage and family relationship.

As in the case, patterns of respect for parents may conflict the desire for freedom from them and feeling of affection and obligation towards them may place the partner whose parents are in the home in a peculiar difficult position. In such cases, conflicts in marriage and family roles may occur between marital partners over their duty and obligations. Besides this, marriage involves a set of social acts towards the partners and to those participant in the relationship and these acts call for the reciprocity of actions and reciprocal expectations for social roles. These roles are 'unique roles' which refer to the 'particular self-other pattern' which the individual carries out in his own marriage, and these roles are at most times conformed to 'a model pattern' expected in a given culture of sub-cultural group. These may arise from any of the following significant roles which make up marital interaction and are important in motivating behaviour. Each spouse is motivated by his own performed role concepts, his own expectations regarding the reciprocal roles of his mate, his mate's expectations regarding him and the degree of correspondence between the two sets of role concepts and expectations. In economic security, companionship, emotional satisfaction, encouragement, and other elements of the marriage each partner tries to live up to his reciprocal roles.

Apart from role conflict arising from the roles of the partners, the wife specially in the family and its members, there exists the role conflict between partners; this may arise from the affectional role which arises from the impulse which William I. Thomas called the "wish for response". In this description of the affectional role. Burgess and Wallin propose that "love, mutual enjoyment of sexual relations, and emotional inter-dependence are critically the strongest social psychological factors holding the marital couple together and making for happiness and satisfaction in the relation".¹ The sexual impulse is central to this relationship, but the affectional role includes more than this. It consists of many of the personal intimacies that make marriage satisfying. Hence a workable solution to any marriage needs adjustment in this fundamental area of response.

Marriage is a self-sustaining and self-perpetuating relationship, and its success depends largely on its ingredients. These ingredients

¹ cf. E. W. Burgess and P. Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953), p. 419.

consist largely of the personalities of the spouses and their respective role-expectations. In this view, marriage is "a process of adjustment of husband and wife in which their personalities either achieve fuller expression or reach a dead level of routine activity or are frustrated",² and their total personality is instrumental in marital interaction.

The importance of personality in marital interaction is also stressed by Terman in his classic study of marital happiness. "Our theory", he remarks, "is that what comes out of a marriage depends upon what goes into it and that among the most important things going into it are the attitudes, preferences, aversions, habit patterns, and emotional response patterns which give or deny to one the aptitude for compatibility".³

Therefore we see that the pre-marriage factors out of which domestic discord occurs is also significant. From observation we find that conflicts involving personality traits may emanate from behaviour arising from the hereditary or genotype, or others from the phenotype of behaviour which grows out of early conditioning oneself to a particular pattern in his environment. An unadjusted or maladjusted individual which has not resolved his inner conflicts or is neglected in his earlier environment and has not built up healthy attitudes may not be able to get easily adjusted to inter-personal family relations. In this behalf the roles played by the marital partners have their origin in the roles played by the parents or the other persons with whom one of the partners was intimately associated in childhood. These models are, of course, usually the only ones with which the person is intimately familiar and he may accept or reject them on the basis of happiness or adjustment experienced in the role playing of the persons. Married adjustment may be regarded as the process in which marriage partners attempt to re-enact certain relational system or situations which obtain in their own earlier family groups. The teachings of his family are an integral part of his personality for the rest of his life, no matter what he may wish to do about it.⁴ Such conflict arising and necessary personal relationships as also those arising from the basic personality structure cannot be substantially modified except by a rigorous reconditioning.

² E. W. Burgess and P. Wallin, *op. cit.*, p. 593.

³ L. M. Terman, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁴ Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

Role conflict between marital partners and their activities may arise from any of the following; the domestic and working roles play a significant part in the marital duet. The economic role of the husband as being a good provider is essential. Income has important implications for home making roles at all levels. Income has other implications for the security of the family. Economic status and its impairment may come out in sexual, affectional and other emotional difficulties which in turn may threaten the marriage. The more important economic role of the woman remains that of a housewife and even though to maintain a standard of living a number of wives are forced to take up employment the behaviour of most wives still however coincide with their traditional roles. But, however, this does not leave out the need of certain new expectations arising from her economic freedom, as given more liberty she tends to act and conduct on her own her house, husband and children, but this is not always welcome and may create a tension with inter-personal relations as also with the extended family specially the mother-in-law. This therefore does not negate the anxieties, tensions and guilt complexes built up in its wake.

Occupational mobility, that is, mostly husbands working away from home, is another problem in the domestic sphere, where adjustment by the wives to his family becomes difficult and not always congenial though there are exceptions, but adjustment to herself is still more difficult, for the loss of the husband's affection and need for security can never be compensated by his family members with whom she may live. The difficulty arises of the maintenance of harmonious balance of inter-personal relationships within the family group and gradually makes for maladjustment and disharmonious relationship between husband and wife.

Conjugal roles and their fulfilment are usually in societies where woman is approximately equal to man in marriage. Today, however, increasingly the need is felt to share consensus meaning 'agreement on common values', mode of action, and methods of procedure. Consensus also depends on agreement on basic values that is, "any event, objects, or aspects of a situation which an individual selects, prefers or desires", and this is more so in marriages of today. Educated boys and girls have certain values and expectations to fulfil these are companionship, social and mental participation, etc.

One has to adhere it appears to what Reuben Hill offers of a dynamic concept which he calls "developmental adjustment"⁵ and which involves such criteria as integration, companionship, adjustment, satisfaction and personality development. They are consistent with the democratic goals of society which insist upon the maximum development of the individual personality.

It is also essential that there be an agreement between marital partners on certain fundamental activities or domestic rituals for example, handling finances, recreation, religion, demonstration of affection, sexual relations, ways of dealing with in-laws. Certain personality traits and the general compatibility of other traits in the two partners is important, for instance, when members of a marriage or family have backgrounds and social norms which are drastically different, their differences can be a source of great deal of conflict and tension. This is more so in heterogeneous marriages which may be very different in many respects.

The most single technological factor modifying the reproductive role is contraception and here too a certain amount of value conflict may arise subject to the socio-cultural motivation to which the couple belong.

Special and vertical class mobility have increased the possibilities of the marriage of persons with diverse backgrounds and interests; cultural differentiation may occur when individual families go up or down in the scale of occupation or social classes.

As seen then the implications in marriage are in the inter-personal area, intra-personal area and extraneous or situational factors. Marriage is a way of living essentially created by two individuals and is usually set to pattern over a span of time and evolves a self-system in terms of which the two parties reciprocate. Besides marriage consists of a set of social roles apart from these unique roles subject to the individual spouses themselves. In this manner the marital pair as it were functions like 'an autonomous social system' but much depending of course on the individual 'mettle' provided by each of the partners in marriage which cannot be ignored.

In case of marital discord then one has to give equal emphasis to the individual, and the role perception in the system created or adapted to with the society or to the two selves. Both these are

⁵ cf. Reuben Hill, quoted by Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 252. See also Willard Waller, *The Family* (1951).

not mutually exclusive. One complements the other and it would be wrong to emphasize any one as more significant. For it may be a case where the basic personality cannot function in the system due to personal shortcomings and personality limitations. On the other hand, a particular role may not be possible for one of the partner to fulfil it, an affectional role, reproductive role, parental role, etc. This may be due to personal cause as already stated or it may be due to resentment or other mental reserves, etc. In such cases the marriage in terms of its reciprocal roles and expectations needs to be counselled in itself.

Thus one has to counsel the individual in the marriage and the individual marriage.⁶ In the first place one has to see that the physical and mental equipment of the individual is mature, steady and prepared for the function of the marriage. This also takes the biological and temperamental traits involved of each of the party. Besides this the family background of each, the pre-marital environment, parental family, culture patterns, social interaction of the couple, factors in their conflict and their rationalization.

On the other hand one has to take into account the marital roles one has to play in the marriage such as affectional roles, conjugal, domestic, working, reproduction and pre-natal, in reciprocity what is expected are role expectations to be fulfilled which cover a wide range as economic security, material comfort, personal expression, biological fulfilment, sexual gratification, romantic excitement, and conjugal tranquillity. The individual who contributes to the marriage must thus be a mature personality. An overemphasis of neurotic or psychotic traits becomes detrimental to successful and happy marital life and inter-personal interaction in such cases are highly individual cases which call for special treatment not within the field and framework of marriage counselling.

Individuals where, however, obstructive or restrictive forces have played a part of neglect of the self due to inadequate or mal-upbringing etc. may be given assistance and a sense of assurance given to the individual.

⁶ Some authorities feel that a marriage itself can be sick, and that therefore the marriage, or the relationship between husband and wife, is the thing to be treated. Other authorities emphasize that marriage consists only of individuals, and that it is individuals who are to be treated rather than their marriage. Most counsellors take a rather middle-of-the-road stand and treat the individuals in a marriage rather than the individuals by themselves. See Ellis, 'Marriage Counselling', article, in Harms and Scriber, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

Marriage is not only an erotic harmony, but an union of many-sided ever-developing non-erotic functions of affection, a community of traits, and feelings of interests, a life in common, a probability of shared parenthood and often an economic union.

The dynamics of marriage is more than the development of intimacy and association. Marriage means decision making and adaptability. The marriage can be workable means not individuals making separate decisions, but making joint decisions in various areas which serve to integrate the marriage. One has therefore to work towards an adaptability of the couples. Adaptability represents a process of growth: In marriage, adaptability enables husband and wife to adjust successfully despite the conflicting facts of their personalities which reveal themselves in the exigencies of the marriage, and to cope with changes in the social situation which impinge upon and effect their roles as husband and wife.

From the earlier data an understanding of conflict and discord arising from the marital interaction calls for a need of investigation into the following areas:

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|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| 1. Area of personal response | : Sex, Health | } (physical) |
| 2. Area of non-physical response | : Personality | } (bio-socio-psychic) |
| 3. Area of social response | : Inter-personal Relationship | } (socio-cultural) |
| 4. Other general areas | : Socio-economic, socio-religious-cum-ethical. | |

1. Health is the first element in inter-personal competence. In this context health refers to the ability of the organism to exercise all of its physiological functions, and to achieve its maximum of sensory acuity, strength, energy, co-ordination, dexterity, endurance, recuperative power, and immunity. Sex is the next important area in inter-personal harmonious interaction and this is closely associated with the affectional need satisfactions, in which case one has to at times know more about the various affectional patterns the individual passes through genetically from infancy, through mid-childhood, adolescence, courtship into marriage for its proper functioning in the marital relationship. In this area couples may have difficulty in the sexual relationship of an inter-personal nature or affecting the sexual relationship due to external causation, or any

mal-functioning of the sexual mechanism, which calls for attention.

2. Discord arising from personality differences needs one to investigate the social response and to be aware of the dynamics of mental mechanisms in marriage, that is, the study of the field of symbolic and substitutive behaviour as it operates in marriage from both the inter-personal and socio-personal angle. Genetic patterns of family relationships may be closely associated. Study of the earlier genetic parent-child roles within the family and its correlation with the genetic pattern of husband-wife roles and the resultant interactional partner.

3. A need at times is called for an investigation into the socio-cultural environment, which has close bearing on affecting inter-personal relationships. The self-roles and spouse-roles and their satisfactory functioning within the marriage needs to be investigated along with the social roles in other intra-personal relationships.

4. Certain extraneous factors, as economic, maladjustment, or conflicts in the socio-cum-religious and ethical issues, at times entail to disharmonious relations and workability and understanding is to be achieved in these areas, thus stressing the importance of the 'economics in marriage'.

Marriage counselling thus must look to the inter-personal relationships for developmental and integrative life in the intimacy of association such as love and affection, sexual relations, emotional inter-dependence and temperamental interaction. Here one has to see that developmental and integrative forces are provided, as well as mutual love and affection, enjoyment, satisfaction and compatibility. In the next place a development of the association in cultural interaction interests and values domesticity in order to provide assimilation and creativity, stimulation and complementation as well as mutual enjoyment of home activities is essential. Besides one has to view the association in operation towards decision-making and adaptability.

Marriage counselling is a form of guided interaction between the spouses to see that the individual meets the roles in marriage and to adjust adequately the individual to the roles. Part of this advice is remedial, in that it arises after the parties have experienced frustrations in compatibility, or unsatisfactory roles functioning and are preventive or educative in that they involve couples who seek advice concerning their own personalities or the general problems of marriage.

In a more practical way counsel here deals with (a) dynamics of family life, (b) responsibilities and roles of individual members in the family, (c) the use of relationship of husband and wife in the following areas: physical, social, psychic and spiritual, (d) adjustment and adaptability of the spouses, (e) hazards to health and distress in family living, (f) economics in marriage and family life, and (g) planning for future if that be desired.

Counselling also is one aspect of education. It has been defined as "a learning experience, an opportunity afforded to the individual to facilitate his growth toward maturity and to actualize his potentialities".

The goal of counselling here must be (a) to increase the functioning of the individual, (b) to increase awareness, (c) to increase communication at all levels, (d) to change hurtful attitudes, (e) to increase self-esteem, and (f) to increase the scope of living through action.

Marriage counselling is also constructive, dynamic, developmental and at times decisive. There are the constructive areas which are often responsible for maladjustments as those such as stemming from the economic sphere, or maladjustment and differences as arising from socio-religious areas, etc. Effective counselling needs to provide not only insight into problems but as far as is possible co-operative assistance to eliminate the extraneous factors jeopardizing the family unity and this is not out of question looking to much positive assistance that can be rendered by welfare services to cases not too chronic in this behalf, yet on the brink of marital disruption.

Marriage and family are interwoven parts of a total process. In this behalf therefore one takes into consideration not only the 'Unity of the Interacting Personalities' in marriage but takes into consideration the whole family unit in its totality, as each individual within the family is a contributory force to its happiness.

The positive nature of such a service is not only to those who are 'disintegrating' in the marital relationship but those that wish to 'integrate' well within it. For this progressive education and family development services are called for. Adoption of children within a marriage to those who have none, better parent-child relationships, better inter-personal relationships and better life itself.

CHAPTER NINE

COUNSELLING

THE SEARCH FOR ADJUSTMENT is not a novel one. Mankind has sought and still seeks ways of improving adjustment and enrichening life. In the midst of priceless assets there are at the other end of the balance the counter-weight of liabilities. Nations suffer from hate, suspicion, strife and cruelty. Individuals have their hap-

piness and complacency threatened by wrong, uncertainty, depression and feeling of futility. Such threats have been present in generations of mankind. Apparently, intellect alone has not been able to solve many of the perplexing problems of groups and individuals. While intelligence has contributed much to the fulness of life, it has not freed us of all our problems. Up to the present time, the improvement of man's lot has been largely a matter of applied intelligence. But since there are many vital questions still to be answered, it would seem profitable to explore some other areas where progress is possible.

One such area concerns the emotions. It seems highly probable that the future evolution of man may be in terms of his emotional development, rather than solely in terms of intellectual progress. Another problem is that of social adjustment. This involves intelligence and emotion, directed by ethical considerations. Pre-marriage and marriage counselling is a movement which is designed to foster such social and emotional evolution. It is an attempt to help man so to utilize his knowledge that the severity of the

liabilities of civilization will be mitigated. Conversely, it is an attempt to help him make better use of the assets of civilization. Modern counselling is one approach, if we may say so, to more complete self-realization.

Counselling is not new. As a term of expression,* was known long since, and as a concept it can be traced to even remote times. It is worth noting the quotation from St Thomas Aquinas written about 700 years ago.¹ According to him, counsel or counselling comes about "when one individual seeks out another to assist him in his 'research of reason', in an attempt to find the means to the solution of a problem". Although this is idealistically desirable, perhaps, one cannot conveniently by-pass a stage when 'belief' surpassed 'reason'. This in a significant way is an important stage where one can trace the 'potential' of counselling as it obtains today.

Informal counselling dates very far back. This is because the word 'counsel' conjures to our minds not only a need for 'advice' or 'conference' or 'research of reason'. But it is a concept which evokes a three-fold meaningful impact at one and the same time. The word 'counsel' we find does not relate to one word alone namely, 'advice', but forms correlation in a process or series of impressions at the mental level. Accordingly one seeks 'counsel' (1) when there is awareness of a difficulty or problem (if one has 'a mental debate' or mental conflict, or an emotional conflict, or an uneasiness, an uncertainty or doubt—personal, social, environmental to be resolved); (2) this involves a 'confidant', a person to confide in

* The term 'counselling' stems from the word loosely known as 'advice' or 'counsel'. But we can nevertheless get quite near the dictionary definition of the word if we say that counselling is a way of helping people who seek counsel or advice on a situation that has become or is becoming intolerable. This word was originally used more or less in this same sense in America, and so to speak imported into this country (England) in the earliest days of the marriage guidance movement by one of its founder Dr David R. Mace. At any rate, it is a word that is coming into use among social workers as representing something between psychotherapy at one extreme and downright 'tell him straight' advice at the other—J. H. Wallis, *Counselling and Social Welfare* (1960), pp. 5-6.

¹ cf. Cavanagh, *Fundamental Marriage Counselling* (1958), p. 3. As to its desirability St Thomas says "... it is proper to the rational creature to be moved through 'research of reason' to perform any particular action, and this research is called counsel". To the question "what is counselling?", he says "counselling properly implies a conference held between several, the very word concilium denotes this, for it means a sitting together, from the very fact that many come together to confer with one another."

(someone or something, direct or indirect) in whom there is implicit faith, belief, trust and confidence; one who is prepared to listen and understand him as he sees the problem; (3) a 'detumescence' relief, that is, a fulfilling relief, a catharsis or emotional unburdening accompanied. Looked at it from this point of view one may see indirect counsel prevail, directed through intrinsic motivation, (belief) displayed in and through several instruments and agents although perhaps devoid of reasoning at times but perhaps not negating the feeling of a profound insight into the problems. Such cases in instance can be traced to early times when supernatural forces, nature's great symbols—the sun, the moon and the stars, gods and goddesses, magic and even evil spirits were evoked indirectly through oblations, sacrifices, prayers through active agents as the medicineman, witch-doctor, priest, who have been called upon to find the desired mate, smooth the peregrinations of love, solve the conflicts, disappointments and desperations of conjugal life.²

We restrict counselling to problems pertaining to marriage and family, and hence before we trace counselling to its present day setting in this behalf, it is of interest to digress to instances of discord in earlier society and the treatment meted out, or nature of counsel, if at all referred to in such cases as it will show the nature, instruments and agent to resolve problems pertaining to marriage and family in early times.

Discord either is not new. If perhaps traced to the Genesis, ever since the incident of 'The Apple' in the 'Garden of Eden' came to be the bone of contention between the first couple has rift and strife come to stay and ever since then the couple who were 'cleaved' to each other, have come to look upon each other with a certain amount of reserve and resent. Whether one would now allude discontent between the sexes as an outcome of the 'Wrath of God' or 'Destiny' popularly so-called or conflict as arising out of the very duality of the sex is a case for conjecture, depending upon individuals according to primordial and primitive beliefs or rational thought and reasoning.

Though it is not possible to find a direct answer as to the prevailing incidence of discord, in ancient times, one fact is sure, if divorce as is known to us, was prevalent since very early days, disharmony and discord between couples could not be unknown, nor perhaps inevitable, and the way to deal with it may have had

² Mudd, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

some method informal or otherwise. It is equally difficult to discern the line of treatment in such cases, if any. Fragmentary incidences narrated by some authors and literature on the pre-literates give us a glimpse into stray but significant instances. A few incidences however traced very far back will indicate the various instruments or agents used to obtain counsel and/or the means of treating discord, the means through which the end results, positive or otherwise were obtained.

Early anthropologists for example relate instances where the husband if he was discontented, could repudiate his wife, neglect her or even punish her by death. This infliction of the death penalty may be attributed to the fact that disharmony or discontent in family life was attributed to the 'curse of God' and the evil factor should be done away with in order to restore harmony. This is a hasty elimination of the undesirable.

In earlier societies, Lowie³ describes adultery or infidelity of wife as a common form of discord. This is considered as a wife's transgression to have erred against the Earth Goddess and the tutelary deities of her husband's family; by a confession and expiatory offerings, the supernatural powers, she is wholly purified and pardoned. Herein is witnessed the belief in the power of the Supernatural, and the effective instrument of prayer to chance past wrongs and sin. Nearer home, incidence as related of the Newars,⁴ show that if discord was prevalent between husband and wife, the wife had to undergo a fast at some religious place or banks of a sacred river, and it was the entire option of her husband to take her back. To all probability there is a slight awareness that a person is responsible for his or her misdeeds and personal pain and penance is therefore undergone, religious elements not being disassociated. We have experiments conducted as early as 1816, such as the description of a Zurick experiment for curing marital incompatibility.⁵ The experiment consisted in locking the erring couple in a single cell for two weeks, on the assumption that they would emerge at the end of that time completely dependent on each other and thus cured of incompatibility. The experiment was based on the belief

³ Lowie, *Social Organization* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd, 1950). p. 184.

⁴ Nepali, *The Newars of Nepal* (Bombay: United Asia), p. 247.

⁵ Vincent Clark, *Readings in Marriage Counselling* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1957), p. 19.

that only sin, evil and downright stubbornness prevented a happy marriage. Westermarck⁶ in 1925 makes a mention of certain tribes where if the couple cannot agree, a separation can be arranged by applying to the local headman, who after listening to their troubles, describes which one is at fault, and whether or not the marriage gifts must be returned. He also describes that in the Roman times where the girl is in the *potestas* of the father, the interference of the father may be allowed for a strong and just cause.⁷ It is noted here that from belief in and complete discretion left to the supernatural powers and their instruments, there emerges a stage of face-to-face relationships within a group, taking hold of certain responsibilities. Herein certain authorized and authoritative individuals can guide, or rather advise.

This is witnessed in Hindu society too, though a wife is taken as a companion for life, yet in cases of dispute between couples, the elders, the panchas or 'the big five' consisting of elders of the family on both sides, along with reputed men and women or religious leaders are asked for advice. In certain communities like the Muslims, for instance, the Jamaat or Advisory Council gives active assistance and advice to couples in distress. The 'lawad' or conciliatory body among certain communities is also a case in instance.

The Biblical literature refers to wise men whose opinions were so universally respected that their advice was sought on many matters. In this form of action, namely, seeking advice from men of religion, primitive society is not alone. Christianity brought forth the confessional within which the individual is told that he can bring up any matter that is troubling him and that he will receive the answers without evasion and fear of ridicule and is assured of secrecy. As Cuber⁸ puts it, "The confessional of the Roman Catholic Church is an age-old prescientific adaption of this process. . . ."

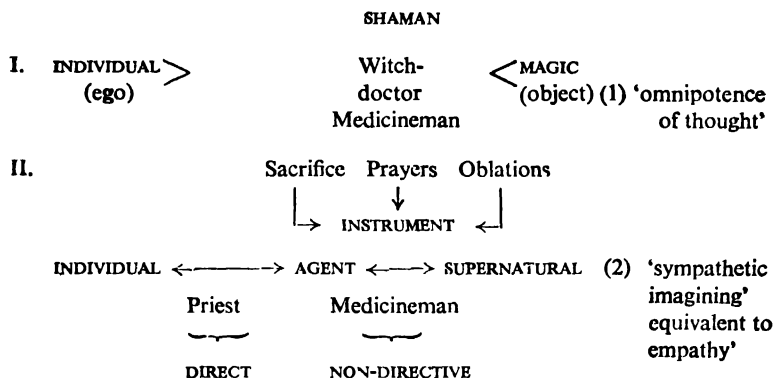
In the modes of treatment of discord from the earliest times to the twentieth century, then, is found a vital significance. Counselling reflects various stages of the progress of society, its thought, action and interpretation; and the gradual stages of society in coming into their own reflect events; and although counsel as it

⁶ E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, Vol. III, pp. 299-300.

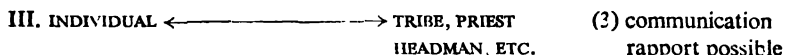
⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 321-22.

⁸ John F. Cuber, *Marriage Counselling Practice* (New York and London: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1948), p. 60.

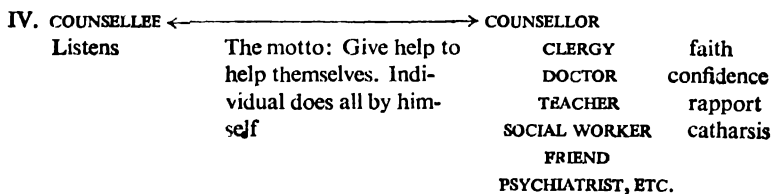
VARIOUS FORMS OF COUNSELLING



An indirect interaction which involves direct and non-direct processes.



Individual seeks ready help (directive process but not yet disassociated with religion, for example, confession).



The approach may be ECLECTIC and/or INDIVIDUAL

- (1) DIRECT and NON-DIRECT
- (2) DIRECT
- (3) NON-DIRECT



is known to us is recent, shades of counselling are traced to the early stages of magic and religion.

Early magic and animism—the 'omnipotence' and 'compulsiveness' of thought (in which man is all-powerful) is the first stage where ego gives way to a stage of religion and its control which in

a way is 'replete' with it. Belief in religion becomes a fate which helps man to 'relate himself to himself', 'sympathetic imagining' being a potent factor; the influence of the supernatural powers, hence, are an indirect guiding force, with the priest as intermediary or active instrument. Advice without rapport distinguished from counsel (more persuasive) begins to show at the conscious level of accepting and directing another's will, without spontaneity but rather with fear of interaction with an authoritative individual or body, with an implicit need to be helped and guided. Gradually, it is seen that the clergy attains authority although not disassociated with religion—the confessional sets in as a 'safety-valve' mechanism for mind and soul; redundantly for health of mind and body. It appears, in a way, pastoral guidance is the first awakening of professional counsel on a conscious level with independence and willingness of the repentant and the reformer. With the advent of the scholar as a recognized educational authority, lay teachers began to take over counselling functions which had formerly been the exclusive province of the priest. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, however, counselling, is to be found on a largely informal basis, but one doubts whether it can be said that it was without any valid rationale.

The twentieth century with the Darwinian conception of organic evolution which regarded mind as essentially "an organ of adaption",⁹ has been responsible for profoundly and pervasively influencing a newer outlook to man in general. This gave an impetus to many thinkers in all fields of activity to learn and contribute towards a scientific approach to man and his problems. Sir Francis Galton, influenced by the work of Darwin, attempted to apply the principles of organic evolution to the study of human beings.¹⁰ James McKeen Cattell¹¹ and L. Farrards contributed even more by their papers to

⁹ O. Hobart Mowrer, *Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion*, p. 1.

¹⁰ cf. *Handbook of Counselling Techniques*, 1963, ed. by Harms and Schreiber. Sir Francis Galton is often referred to as the founder of individual psychology and of mental measurement. Influenced by the work of Darwin, including his *Origin of Species*, Galton attempted to apply the principles of organic evolution to the study of human beings. In 1883, he published *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, a book that many believe marks the beginning of individual psychology and mental testing.

¹¹ J. McKeen Cattell held the first professorship of Psychology in the world (1888-1891) at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1890 he made known the use of mental tests and their measurements.

their growing movement of psychological and mental experimentation. Besides these, influenced by Darwin were his admirers. Freud (1900) who later revolutionized the entire way of looking at man and his problems, can be said to have begun the modern era of counselling and psychotherapy. His system of psycho-analysis having provided the first dynamic understanding of mental mechanisms. It may be noted, too, that the intellectual challenge to religion in the twentieth century is Freudian Psychology, which took from man divine will and made him subject to primordial instinct. Of these scientific challenges to religion it would seem psychiatry would be the least difficult to assimilate into religious thinking.¹² The second half of this century finds the conflict between religion and psychiatry in a new phase in which, one does not know whether religion will make adjustments to Freud as it did to Darwin and Copernicus, or otherwise. The Freudian school was a living and developing body in his life-time, and continued to have a lasting influence. However, then and since it has been the point of departure for a number of variant and deviant doctrines. The theory of psycho-analysis however does not stand still where Freud himself left it, and there are today several different schools of thought within the movement, some adhering more to the original and classic theory, others looking ahead to new developments. A. Adler and C. G. Jung, the first to break away from Freud, established their schools known as 'Individual Psychology' and 'Analytical Psychology'. Then came the theories of the Neo-Freudians—Fromm, Horney, Sullivan—which really bear little resemblance to the original.¹³ Labelled as the 'left-wing' the Neo-Freudians and their socially-oriented movements aroused considerable hostility

¹² Harms and Schreiber, *ibid.*, p. 380. Today new schools of thought are trying to show the synthesis between psychiatry and religion. See O. Mowrer, *The Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion* and also Joseph R. Royce, 'Psychology, Existentialism and Religion', *Journal of General Psychology*, Vol. 66, 1962, pp. 3-16. A recent development within psychology is encouraging, namely, the establishment of a working group with a growing interest in studying the basic presuppositions of psychology and religion and the relations between the two. The current members of this group are as follows: Walter H. Clark, Charles Curran, Joseph Havens, Keith Irwin, Robert Kimball, Robert Macleod, Paul Prayser and Joseph R. Royce. But with the new school one does not know whether we will have to go back once again to our roots in religion. This at the moment is a doubtful and perplexing question. See also Erich Fromm, *Psycho-Analysis and Religion* (New Haven: London and Yale University Press, 1963).

¹³ J. A. C. Brown, *Freud and the Post-Freudians* (Penguin Books, 1961).

amongst the orthodox because of their desire to emphasize the modifiability of human nature rooted implicitly in a socially-oriented theory; this necessitated the attack on the very foundations of orthodoxy. Freud's biologism stemmed from a conviction that the source of man's trouble lies deep within himself and is not simply the result of adverse social or material conditions, these theories and convictions *a priori* being built upon the biological justification of original sin and predestination, but the post-Freudian revolutionists committed to the contrary hypothesis that men are naturally good, are born free and equal, with almost infinite potentialities, and that whatever troubles they suffer must be due to social or environmental factors rather than to individual ones.

The Freudian image, however, has persisted. It has even become 'institutionalized' and 'routinized'. Yet underneath such a mighty image the smaller views of man have been changing. The nineteenth century bound man into a biological matrix, while the twentieth century however, is binding him into a sociological matrix. The birth of the science of 'behaviourism' and social psychology have come into prominence with the changing influences. This approach has continued to develop sociologically and the Neo-Freudians although dealing with individuals by analytical methods tend to regard the patient's conflict as a microcosm of social ones. The Neo-Freudians throw some light on the interrelation of that important triumvirate—culture, social organization and personality.¹⁴ The nineteenth century has been prolific in schools of psychology each believing that hidden in its own field is a true key to a unified understanding of human activity as a whole.¹⁵

¹⁴ J. A. C. Brown, *ibid.*, p. 919. The Neo-Freudian schools rejected Freud's biological approach and are more concerned with the influence of society and culture in building personality than with its instinctual foundations, and amongst psychologists today one finds at the one extreme the orthodox Freudians with their biological theory on a relatively fixed personality depending upon the instinctual drives and originating in the early years of life, and at the other extreme the thoroughgoing sociological schools which assert that personality traits are not to be viewed as 'inside' the individual, being merely consistent modes of behaviour organized around the roles the individual plays in society (cf. also Lindesmith and Strauss, *Social Psychology*, Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, and Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*). In this respect the optimistic and democratic implications evinced by the Neo-Freudians, Neo-Adlerians and their directive approach plays a significant part.

¹⁵ The various schools are noted here: (i) Functional psychology: very old, wide in scope and not sharply defined, named in America in 1898; (ii) Struc-

The recent tendency of psychology as it appears is towards an increasingly sociological emphasis, and it will be interesting to see how far this enables us to find answers to problems, which an approach based on the individual has failed to solve, by the acceptance of the sociological viewpoint it has quite momentous implications not only in psychotherapy but also in psychology, medicine and many other spheres. Hence the techniques to deal with the various approaches and viewpoints also vary. Though a detailed discussion would be out of place, the mention of these salient facts however, is important in any discussion of counselling as the newer approach to man every day tends towards a direct, activist and optimistic therapy. In the field of counselling particularly, changing perspectives in dealing with human beings has brought to light new methods to understand the individual through directive,¹⁰ non-directive and eclectic therapies trying to evoke response, catharsis and faith to release one's inner self of one's repressed, imprisoned and denied forces of personality.

Before considering the varied approaches and schools of thought in counselling, it is of interest to note where, how, when, and what is the need for counselling as it stands today. Its historical perspective, as indicated and narrated by some authors, show that such a necessity arose in close relation to some major incidents which were perhaps responsible to evoke counselling facilities and counselling as a profession. Briefly, these are as follows: (1) the Impact of the Industrial Revolution, (2) the New Psychology (freedom of individual to be himself), (3) the Two World Wars, (4) the New Democracy (individual freedom), (5) Urbanization and its Impact.

The development of counselling is closely related to its historical genesis. It began in different places at more or less the same time

tural psychology: German in origin, with 1879 as an outstanding date, named and sharpened in America in 1898; (iii) Associationism: an old British school, taking stimulus response form in America in 1898, in Russia in 1903; (iv) Psycho-analysis: originating in Austria about 1900; (v) Personalistic and organismic psychologies: originating in both Germany and America about 1900; (vi) Purposivism or hormic psychology: originating in Britain in 1908; (vii) Behaviorism: originating in America in 1912; (viii) Gestalt psychology: originating in 1912.

¹⁰ cf. A. Ellis, *Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy* (New York: Lyle Stuart), p. 266; specially the chapter on 'A Rational Approach to Marital Problems', wherein he discusses the new active directive therapy in counselling procedure, from his point of view.

as a need of the times and was adapted to ways befitting the needs of the situation.¹⁷ Most sociologists stress the impact of the industrial revolution on almost every aspect of life having overwhelming changes in the family life.¹⁸ Following the industrial revolution the time was ripe for the emergence of services to promote human welfare and during the latter part of the nineteenth century, a philosophy of rugged individualism was beginning to give way to a sense of social responsibility, to the point of view that the well-being of individuals should be the concern of society as a whole. Gradually in the older and more densely populated countries of Europe, the economic and social problems created by the appearance of the isolated individual the conditions of modern society proved so insistent and alarming that modifications of the policy of the public non-interference were deemed increasingly necessary; until the last quarter of the century rather comprehensive programmes of social betterment, involving a new concept of society's duty to the individual began to appear. Anna Y. Reeds,¹⁹ summarizes the trend in these words:

During the closing years of the nineteenth century the civilized world replied affirmatively the question 'Am I my brother's keeper?' society had accepted the theory of the unity of humanity and the brotherhood of man and was ready to begin the translation of theory into practice. The years 1910 were banner years for the expression of these newly accepted theories in terms of social and philanthropic efforts to serve humanity better.

The second factor which had a bearing on the rise of counselling was the interest of the psychologists in the nature and identification of individual differences, as was mentioned earlier. The new urge was also for man to be himself.²⁰ The rise in continuance growth of

¹⁷ cf. A. Stone, article on 'Marital Maladjustments and Marriage Counselling', *Journal of Family Welfare*, Vol. I, November 1954, No. 1; Clark, *Readings in Marriage Counselling* (1957), p. 14; E. Mudd, *The Practice of Marriage Counselling* (1951), pp. 4, 14.

¹⁸ *op. cit.*, Mowrer, *Social Disorganization*, p. 146; Kirkpatrick, *The Family* (1955), p. 119; *op. cit.*, M. F. Nimkoff, pp. 88, 92.

¹⁹ Anna Reed, *Guidance and Personnel Services in Education* (1944), p. 8; quoted by Gordon Nelson in his article 'Counselling—Some Historical Highlights', in *Handbook of Counselling Techniques*, Harms and Schreiber (1963).

²⁰ cf. Jung, *op. cit.*

individual psychology, uncovered conditions that were indicative of a need for personal counselling of one kind or the other.

The third feature is that of War. Bossard stated in this behalf that

War is a stirring phenomenon, it stimulates the emotion. It shakes individuals out of the routines of their behaviour and their thinking. It emphasizes new experiences and precipitates new judgments. Implied in all of this is the loosening of the hold of customary inhibitions. Traditional ways of doing and thinking give way to new desires, impulses long dated find opportunities for release. The social threshold of inhibition is lowered. The mores of the entire society pass into a stage of active transition. New forms of conduct come to be approved, based on the present that seems unreal and a future that is obviously uncertain.²¹

Pre-marital and marriage counselling as a serious science and art first gained recognition in Germany and Austria soon after World War I.²² In the States, too, the post-World War II era, labelled the Age of Anxiety, accelerated the changes within all aspects of culture, and differences of families multiplied. Economic insecurity arising from the nature of modern industry and labour relations. Technology invaded the home as well as the factory and values were influenced accordingly as shown by Bossard in his *War and the Family* (1950).

²¹ J. H. S. Bossard, *War and the Family*, p. 722, in Koos, *Marriage* (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 280.

²² The first centre for 'information and advice on sex' was established at the Berlin Institute for Sexual Science, directed by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1919. Three years later, in 1922, the social services of the Municipality of Vienna founded a public and official 'Centre for Sexual Advice', under the sponsorship of Dr Kautsky. In 1924, a similar centre was opened in Berlin. Later on a number of leagues for sexual hygiene were established in Germany, Austria, Denmark, Sweden and in other countries and a number of marriage consultant services began to be organized under their auspices. Gradually the idea came to be accepted that individuals faced with sexual and family difficulties should receive help and advice from special centres established for that purpose. By 1932, there were probably several hundred marriage consultant centres in Germany, in Austria, with the purpose of providing information and advice on eugenics, sex, contraception and marital problems in general. With the coming of the Hitler regime, this work soon came to a standstill, perhaps as most of the organizations were Jewish, and was continued chiefly in the democratic countries (cf. A Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8).

World War II²³ drew many men (and some women) out of their usual social relationships and into the 'artificial' social groups of the armed forces. Mobility and the new economic role of women in the industrial world created great culture change. It changed, at least temporarily, the economic and social status of many individuals and families. It also caused many young men and women to shift their moral and spiritual values towards the less conventional position.

World War II²⁴ (1936-1949) ravaged orderly social structure everywhere and society faced grave and intense marriage and family problems and problems of delinquent adolescents and unmarried ones. To this effect Mudd gives an analytical description of 2,559 cases for a fourteen-year period before and during World War II.²⁵

According to Kingsley Davies (1950):

The combination of increasing longevity, a slightly earlier age at marriage, and a tendency to control fertility and bunch reproduction in ages below 30, has freed married women for economic pursuits and led to a new conception of marriage as a personal rather than a kinship matter. Marriage, divorce and reproduction have accordingly become much more responsive to current fashions and new family structure seems to be integrated with the general character of modern society.²⁶

In London, the family discussion bureau, at the end of the hostilities in 1945, examined the problems of the breakdown of family life with the resultant increase in divorce, separation, marital disharmony and family tensions. The contributing factors were:

²³ Koos, *ibid.*, p. 280.

²⁴ cf. (Joseph H. Brayshaw, *Essentials of a Marriage Guidance Service* September 1962), p. 25.

²⁵ Emily Mudd, Executive Director, Marriage Council of Philadelphia, was one of the earliest to start the Bureau in the States (1932). In her book *The Practice of Marriage Counselling* she investigates 2,559 cases for a fourteen-year period from January 1936 to December 1949.

On the Educational level it may be worth mentioning that Dr Ernest Groves in the University of North Carolina (1936), Bowman (1949), are one of the first to initiate the courses in this behalf. More recently it was estimated that courses are given in nearly 632 universities specifically oriented and focused on marriage and family relations.

²⁶ Kingsley Davies (1950), quoted by Mudd, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

long separation of husband and wife, direction of women into industry, compulsory national service of adolescents of both sexes and the evacuation of children and aged persons.

The new democracy is seen in the individualistic and democratic trend as described by most authors. As Truxall and Merrill²⁷ point out the atomistic individualism of the metropolis dissolved the traditional institutional controls holding the families together. The yielding of social status to relations of contract, where the individual is increasingly motivated by rationalistic and secular reasons for many of his activities, including choice of mate. In their words:

The high degree of individualism, born of the dissolution of the traditional bonds of a feudal society and augmented by the way of life of a frontier America, is perhaps the most important single factor contributing to the disorganization of the contemporary family. For individualistic marriage may lead to individualistic divorce. Having sown the wind of individualism we are reaping the whirlwind of family disorganization.²⁸

Urbanization and its impact has been summed up by Dr David Mace,²⁹ who says that sociological studies have shown that the movement from a simple agrarian society to a modern urban society has gone a long way towards breaking up the closer-knit cohesion of the patriarchal type of family and replacing it with the more fragmented and individualized democratic pattern. This has brought into family life new strengths and also new weaknesses. One of the greatest weaknesses has been the decline of the family counsel in which a kinship group undertook to deal with domestic difficulties of its individual members.

The pattern of ancient and primitive societies alike, almost invariably include arrangements by which the family counsel could deal with tensions and disagreements arising among the young unmarried couples. Today the need is felt for a neutral and independent expert and enlightened men and women; instead of seeking advice from ill-informed relatives, they would like an external agent

²⁷ cf. Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*

²⁸ Truxall and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

²⁹ David R. Mace, 'What is a Marriage Counsellor', in *Reading in Marriage Counselling*, ed. V. Clark, p. 31.

so that a pardon from his bias to which parents seldom attain. Dr Alfonse Clemens remarks:

Even were marriage counselling not needed in a saner and simpler age, the complexities of life render it imperative today. Rearing a wholesome family amid the welter and confusion and chaos of urban centres. . . , is a vastly more complicated problem than that confronting the pioneer family in its wilderness isolation. The neurotic pressures of the age—the conflicting principles and ideals of the home and of the social milieu; the free intermingling of various social and cultural classes, the increasing mobility of the family with correspondingly lessened social and emotional security—these and simpler social pressures in our modern environment require expert attention and assistance to the family not as urgently needed before. . . .

he goes on to say that

the family alone—the admitted corner-stone of civilization and culture—has been unaccorded any specific and professional expertness, with the result that it has been studied and guided . . . segmentally instead of integrally. The theologian, the lawyer, the medical practitioner, the home economist, the psychologist—each has treated some one or the other aspect of marital living largely from the viewpoint of a distinct speciality. . . . It would seem that the emergence of marriage and family experts with the total point of view, far from being a faddish phenomenon, indicates the belated fulfilment of a basic need. . . .³⁰

At about this time, individuals belonging to varied walks of life and to varied professions began to take an interest in marriage and family problems. And marriage and family counselling began as a community facility which developed for the purpose of promoting personal and social adjustment within the family by aiding those individuals who felt themselves inadequate to utilize their own strength and of furthering knowledge concerning the dynamics of relationship between husband and wife. The interest of diverse lay

³⁰ cf. Alfonse H. Clemens, *Catholics and Marriage Counselling* (Washington, D. C.: Workshop on Marriage and Family Relationships), The Catholic University of America; quoted by Cavanagh, *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xii.

and professional people has largely been responsible for the schools of thought in counselling and the various approaches and techniques applicable today in the field of counselling. Counselling is, therefore, often referred to as an 'eclectic' professional field, the meaning of eclectic in this connection being derived from the historical development of marriage counselling; every profession today puts a claim to it; however, it is not a specified branch of any profession, but a technique used by almost every profession.

Available literature shows four distinct kinds of services involving all the professional fields. Dr Mace's classification³¹ in this behalf serves:

1. Services which aim to relieve tensions in the individual, and in the relationships between individuals, created by the pressure of a hostile environment. This is the main task of the *social worker* of the traditional type, of the *sociologist*, and perhaps of the *lawyer*.

2. Services which help the individual to attain his maximum level of physical health and efficiency. This is the province of *medicine* and its satellites.

3. Services designed to resolve the unconscious conflicts which undermine the integration of the personality. This is at the present the exclusive province of psychiatry and psychotherapy.

4. Services which help the individual, at the conscious level, to achieve a better understanding of himself and of his destiny. This broad category includes all functionally directed education—teaching, preaching and propaganda. It also includes all counselling in the generally understood meaning of the word. Hence people of varied disciplines have been associated with counselling, although they have not strictly belonged to one discipline alone. For instance, physicians-cum-professional social workers, clergymen-cum-teachers, sociologists-cum-physicians, etc. have also contributed to marriage and family problems.

Among the earliest interest evinced in the subject was the one of sociologists and social scientists. Social workers closely associated with the study of sociology were interested in it as one aspect of the scope for applied science. Some individuals have combined their experiences in their working with simultaneous fields such as sociology and social work, theology and sociology, medicine and social work. Hence the many viewpoints from individual angles, although in its broadest sense the content basically remained the same.

³¹ David R. Mace, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

The sociological³³ approach to counselling lays stress on the inter-personal relationships and on marriage on the conscious level. In this respect marriage is taken to be a small social system, and the sociological approach is increasingly directed to role-interaction analysis and on functioning of marital roles. On the pre-marriage level counselling is an attempt to clarify and strengthen marital roles by formal academic instruction before marriage.

There are some sociologists who put forth the view that (marriage) counselling is essentially different from psychotherapy, but is a form of therapy.³³

To still other sociologists³¹ the nature of counselling is an 'educative process', and helps the individual capacities to solve his problems. The task of counselling is not concerned with the solution of the problem as the growth of the person in developing the resources to meet the situation and to make them develop this capacity to realize that the problem is beyond them and so the situation and/or setting has to be changed accordingly. Counselling in this behalf is a growth process of the counsellee.

The psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers give it a functional definition as being a short-term psychotherapy dealing with inter-personal relationships in marriage, the approach being on the conscious level.

Clinical psychiatrists and psychoanalysts treat neurotic interaction in marriage, at times the maladjusted individual, and their

³³ The sociologists and social workers who are primarily sociologists, to mention but a few of them: Popenoe, Groves, Goldstein, Mudd, Merrill, Cuber, Fisher, Dean. Mudd, for instance, believes that marriage, pre-marriage, or family counselling should promote social or personal adjustment in the family and help to utilize their own strength, and further knowledge concerning the dynamics of relationships between husband and wife. Merrill feels that it should make for improvement of inter-personal interaction, and help the person and personality to ameliorate his difficulties and form of social roles. Thus, for example, marital behaviour, is in terms of expectations and fulfilment of certain roles, affectional, sexual, economic and parental (cf. Merrill, p. 369).

³³ Cuber, for instance, calls it a socio-psycho therapy. See Harms and Schreiber, *op. cit.* Besides A. Ellis, see his article 'Marriage Counselling', where he mentions the following: N. W. Acherman (1958), A. Robert Harper (1951), A. W. Laidlaw (1957), George Lawton (1958), Ellis (1958), who share the same opinion.

³⁴ S. Mace and Popenoe. According to Popenoe, it is a learning experience, an opportunity offered to the individual to facilitate his growth maturity and to actualize his potentialities.

therapy will focus more on the sick individual in the marriage partnership or out of it. In this intensive therapy marriage and pre-marriage counselling is in a different realm and ceases to deal with normality in marriage partners and marriage situations.

The physician or medical man, is constantly brought into contact with cases of obscure systematology which owes its origin to some domestic discord. Hence a psycho-dynamic study of domestic relationship puts the physician in a unique position to recognize and assess the disorder. Counselling here may be a direct focus on a personal disorder of the client and may recourse to psychotherapy to locate the psychosomatic causes of disorder and disharmony.

The educationist and legal men have always had the opportunity to aid in a preventive way. Pre-marital counselling as a problem requiring solution has been their priority. The lawyers too have often had first hand contact to see the marriage and the individuals in it.

Last but not least, the pastor in Christian society has had a position of strategic importance which causes people automatically to turn to him and his position of prestige in the community. The clergy closely deal with three specified areas: transitional states, deviant behaviour and exigencies.³⁵

In view of the religious role of the clergy, their primary emphasis is upon safeguarding the psychological and spiritual values of the union. Further, their position is precarious in the realm of counselling proper. Although clergymen have always implicitly reserved the rights to counsel their parishioners in moments of need, organized activities in the field of counselling and psychotherapy by pastors did not begin until the advent of the Institute of Pastoral Counselling in Boston in 1932. At that time, pastors interested in counselling began to study psychiatry and psychological methods with the desire to utilize modern scientific methods to supplement the older spiritual methods. The attempt to resolve the difficulties between the spiritual and scientific orientations to counselling has created a serious ideological conflict in clergymen. The spiritual method, based on revealed truth has become inevitably involved with problems of good and bad, has tended to be associated with authoritarianism and moralism due to the theological doctrine that

³⁵ cf. E. Cumming and C. Hamington, 'Clergyman As Counsellor', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXIX, November 1963, p. 243.

man is rational and responsible for his conduct over which it is postulated that he has self-control. The pastoral counsellor, therefore, has had difficulties in reconciling the theological teachings with modern psychiatric theory and particularly with psychoanalysis. Pastoral counselling has its values in spiritual orientation and may tend to bias in its community leanings. Today, in spite of its popularity, clergymen counselling role appears to some who have studied it to be wholly 'defined', 'diffused' and 'conflicted'. Much is at stake for pastoral counsellors in this controversy, since acceptance of modern psychiatric concepts would automatically force the revision of many theological concepts.

Counselling, thus, has become a speciality, made so by its own function, its requirement of peculiar preparation and designation of its practitioners and the particular nature of their practice. Counselling, as a professional activity, is a fairly recent development even though counsel as a purposeful activity has an origin as ancient as man's. As a professional service, the beginnings of counselling are generally established as occurring in the early years of the present century. As a more natural, cultural interaction between an elder and a neophyte citizen, it has been suggested (Curran, 1960) that its beginnings were an integral part of our whole legal, social, philosophical and theological tradition in one of its most ancient Judaico-Greco-Christian forms. Professional counselling is unquestionably tied to this broader base as well.

To understand another human being is as difficult a task as a man can choose. A science that strives to be adequate to this end must be a heavy borrower and medicine, biology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, theology must be relied upon. Marriage counselling and pre-marriage counselling as some of its exponents hold, is a study of the 'whole man'. But this very concept of the 'wholeness' of man creates an ambiguity in its leaning towards any particular science which can deal with him satisfactorily that is, in its 'totality'. It has been said by a famous counsellor, and very rightly so, that marriage counselling is at once the field of none of the professions and of all of them. The definition of counselling, is therefore as varied and rich, nay, as ambiguous as in the case of a number of professions wherein professionals claim the right and priority to practise and profess it.

Pre-marriage and marriage counselling has threads interwoven with at least a dozen disciplines. However, their main aim and

content is the same, that is, to help the individual to the best of their ability and as far as their techniques allow in the present circumstances. One of the earliest and well-known counselling agency, namely, the Marriage Council of Philadelphia, describes it thus:

Counselling before and after marriage consists of confidential interviews which provide an opportunity to talk over questions or problems with a well-trained and understanding person. Primarily, people gain perspective on whatever situations they are facing and counselling aims to help people deal with these situations in the manner best fitted to their particular needs.³⁶

According to Herbert and Jarvis,³⁷ many of those who come for help are unhappy and in difficulties. They also have standards and ideals. They are often trying desperately to adjust their emotions to their own idea of duty or moral behaviour. Marriage counselling in this form is not a substitute for legal, religious nor moral advice—it is simply a means by which people can be helped to see themselves and their marriages with greater insight—a means by which they may be assisted towards a resolution of their own problems.

Hann and Maclean³⁸ say that counselling is to help each individual who asks for help to resolve or ameliorate his difficulty with a maximal degree of self-sufficiency and self-control.

"Where self-knowledge and self-control is lacking", suggest Foote and Cottrell, "the best means for reversing these deficiencies is effective utilization of all available knowledge of how selves originate, operate and co-operate." Marriage counselling therefore is a form of guided social interaction.

Rogers,³⁹ a clinical psychologist, says,

Effective counselling consists of a definitely structured permissive relationships which allows the client to gain an understanding of himself to a degree which enables him to take positive steps in the light of his new orientations.

³⁶ cf. Mudd, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

³⁷ Herbert and Jarvis, *A Modern Approach to Marriage Counselling*, p. 21.

³⁸ Hann and Maclean, *Counselling Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955).

³⁹ cf. C. R. Rogers, *Client Centered Therapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951).

Pepinsky and Pepinsky⁴⁰—'Counselling' is approached as a situation in which a client is helped to acquire a greater range and flexibility of responses than had been available in meeting new situations.

The definitions available are broad and general and provide only a very vague knowledge concerning the actual practice of marriage counselling. At most times the definition is a borrowed one from its originator, or extremely one-sided depending on the orientation of the counsellor. At the moment, it is not the intention to go into a critical evaluation of the definitions (as the source material in the form of books is scarce here). With the accepted proviso that counselling is subject to inter-disciplinary sciences, it cannot be expected to have a standard definition and standard practices. Being very new, too, only experience perhaps can result in a universally acceptable definition. But this very difficulty poses a further problem. According to Cuber (1) The specific practitioner's approach, whether consisting of some orthodoxy of some one school of thought or, on the other hand, of some original heterodoxy of allegedly inconsistent points of view, constitutes for him a sort of bias. He may be influenced by the psychoanalytic form of reference, or by some special school within it; he may have been influenced by the non-directive or client-centred school of thought, or by some theological and philosophical orientation, or by some non-descript combination of more or less originally devised points of view hitherto more or less integrated by him. He may be an ardent devotee of some one school of thought, or he may be somewhat more reserved and critical of his own theoretical orientation. He is, nevertheless, prejudiced by his basic theoretical orientation to the counselling role. (2) Basically, the practitioner's approach refuses to accept any one school of thought as the *summum bonum*. The point of view that there is much which is sound in many different approaches to marriage counselling and that all points of view deserve to be examined for their contributions to the best available therapy of today deserves consideration. There is a danger in such an *omnium gatherum* attempt. Various schools of thought may be not so much merely different as basically and uncompromisingly inconsistent.⁴¹

⁴⁰ H. B. Pepinsky and P. N. Pepinsky, *Counselling Theory and Practice* (New York: Roland Press, 1954).

⁴¹ cf. John F. Cuber, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5.

How, then, can one claim to reconcile them all? This is a question that has to be answered.

While taking all these definitions into consideration, it must not be lost sight of that the outstanding characteristic of man is his individuality. He is an unique creation of the forces of nature, and behaves throughout his life in his own distinctive manner. Counselling must take into account the state in which he is most human. The success of counselling hinges on the motivation of the client who comes for counselling and this involves two main points: first, the actual manifested need of the client and secondly, the desire of a client to satisfy that need hopefully towards a desired goal.

The counsellor must be aware that modern society ignores the individual and takes account of human beings. The confusion between individual and human beings has led industrial civilization into a fundamental error, namely, the standardization of man. If men were all identical, they could be reared and made to live and work in great herds like cattle. But each of them has his own individuality. He cannot be treated like a symbol.

The client is a bio-psycho-social totality who has a problem, situational or personal, which needs to be discussed, solved or adjusted, he, in the words of J.H. Wallis, wants *Someone To Turn To*.⁴² There are deep forces within that strive fundamentally for gratification of the need to understand and to be understood. He is resistant to the usual 'standardization of man', and he wants himself and his problem to be understood in all that it means to him.

There are certain needs arising from his socio-cultural milieu which needs to be fulfilled. Again his need for security, self-adequacy, affection, social approval, self-esteem tend to propel him to the counsellor. Adequate understanding of the client and his problem is important if a counsellor is to be of assistance in aiding the client to move forward in a problem-solving process.

The effective machinery to deal with a client is a good counsellor and extraneous resources in the form of concrete welfare services. Today, as we see it, it is not counselling which is new, it is according to David Mace the counsellor who has emerged anew on the scene. Counselling itself has to borrow from various disciplines. A person who has to deal with all the aspects of human beings in their totality will have to be totally equipped himself as it is difficult to envisage

⁴² J. H. Wallis (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd, 1961).

a 'Compleat Counsellor'. But if the Counsellor comes into his own, as a professional, with counselling as a full-fledged profession, it seems more hopeful that he will be more adequately equipped to function along with other professionals to offer the best in his personal capacity to the client.

A marriage counsellor, too, is a bio-psycho-social totality, who needs to be both scientist and artist; a scientist in the sense that he is ever alert to his responsibility in searching for truth; and artist in the sense that he is able creatively to use himself constructively in his relationships with people. The artistry involved in the counselling is in a similar manner related to one's feelings about himself, things and people. It also involves one's personal philosophy, point of view, scales of values, and ability to discipline one's self in order to become more effective as a counsellor. This involves learning to control one's own emotions, giving up preconceived ideas, and a compass of value system and the interest of understanding others in an emphatic manner. The counsellor has in the last resort, only one piece of effective and important to work with her or his own 'personality'.⁴³

The personal qualities and qualifications of a counsellor have an important bearing on his work and these qualities include, apart from others, a warm, human responsiveness that denotes a keen understanding of human differences.⁴⁴

⁴³ Dean Johnson, *Marriage Counselling—Theory and Practice* (New York, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Inc., 1961), p. 47.

⁴⁴ cf. Allport, *Personality* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1937), p. 513. One may include such qualifications as experience, intelligence, insight, complexity, detachment, the esthetic attitude and social intelligence. cf. Cavanagh, *op. cit.*, p. 5 and also Mudd, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

The Committee on Professional Training, Licensing of Certification of the APGA in its 1958 report stated that there is general agreement that counsellors are persons who are intellectually able, professionally motivated, emotionally and socially mature, and who are able to sustain intimate inter-personal relationships enriched by their experiences. Yet, general agreement on the desirable configuration of these characteristics could be difficult if not impossible to obtain; actually, there may be several configurations which would be equally desirable.

It is also worth noting the Report of the Committee on Standards for Training of the American Association of Marriage Counsellors (1958). According to them, a marriage counsellor's qualifications should include:

A knowledge of human growth and development, and of the dynamics of human behaviour and motivations, a capacity to differentiate between normal

Further, if the interview is to be used effectively by the counsellor for the general purposes of diagnosis, education and therapy, it must first be put to good use for establishing rapport—the warmth, co-operative inter-personal relationship of counsellor and counsellee resulting from the establishment of confidence, trust and friendship and the creation of a positive emotional response on the part of counsellee towards counsellor.

Counselling, pre-marital or post-marital, is essentially a matter of interaction between client or counsellee and counsellor, and it is here that the client should be free to discuss matters about which he is concerned without eliciting positive responses from the counsellor. This in a way is an exclusive relationship not generally experienced in everyday life. The accepting environment of the counselling relationship provides an atmosphere in which the counsellee is able to clarify and formulate his ideals and feelings concerning his situation and to show them through communication with the counsellor—such a delicate relationship must emerge as a product of the client's desire for help and the counsellor's understanding and helpful attitudes. Mudd summarizes the counsellor's attitude in this manner:

It takes time for people to change, to grow, to make adjustments. Therefore, the counsellor should offer patience rather than haste, sympathy, not indulgence, tolerance, not criticism and should support an individual's efforts to adjust, even though success is not immediate.

“The goal of counselling”, she continues,

is to help people over the rough spots, and to make this a strengthening process so that they can better help themselves and

and abnormal behaviour mechanisms; and some understanding of the everyday give and take problems of family living and relationship within the family group. In addition, the marriage counsellor, needs to be skilled in the area of basic counselling techniques, and to have developed an awareness and disciplined control of his own bias, prejudices, attitudes and needs as these may affect his work with clients.

It is also interesting to note in this behalf the Committee on Training in Clinical Psychology, who show the qualities one would expect of an ideal counsellor—refer McGown and Schmidt (1962).

each other and pull their own weight in the community.⁴⁵

The method of counselling based on the individual client and his particular set of circumstances is usually based on the philosophy of the individual which is different among the people in general. In working with clients, then, no one method of counselling is recommended for all clients at all times, because each client will present a vastly different set of circumstances surrounding his particular problem, and therefore will require vastly different kinds of individual treatment or therapy.

The type of counselling technique used in any one given situation, depends upon the client and his ability to respond. It will also depend upon the particular counsellor and his own ability to employ the various techniques of counselling, and of understanding the climate of the particular professional counselling session, as well as the mental status of the client.

Today the counselling techniques are of two types in the main, viz. direct and non-direct and they too are not mutually exclusive. Thus eclectic counselling is a combination of direct and indirect counselling at times on the same client. It is subject to the client's responses and needs. Non-directive counselling, as its chief exponent Carl Rogers makes it out to be, is based upon the assumption that the client has the right to select his own life roles. In this procedure the counsellor refrains from giving advice; his role is to assist the person in achieving insight into his problem and in making his own decisions.

The client-centered non-directive method of counselling is a passive method in which no active interpretation by the counsellor is given. This, however, may very well be based on the erroneous assumption that the client thoroughly knows his own problem and also knows the best possible solution to it. If, however, this was so, then one may well wonder why a client would be seeking counselling services at all.

Counselling, then, is not a mere substitute for religion, that is, an emotional catharsis, it is more—it is a means by which people can be helped to see themselves and their marriages with greater insight. A means by which they may, as far as possible, be actively assisted towards a resolution and possible effective solution of their own problems, without authority or compulsion but by active suggestion, workability and co-ordination.

⁴⁵ Mudd, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

The client as a real person, as a warm vibrant individual with feelings, attitudes and emotions, must be the primary consideration of any counsellor in selecting a particular counselling method, because it is the client alone who will determine what shall be learnt, and what changes shall be made. The average client who presents himself to a counsellor wants both guidance and direction in solving his problems. Often such a client is too engrossed in his own problems to develop any real insight on his own.

The client-centered technique hence cannot be used exclusively because in the majority of instances, what is desired from a counsellor is both counselling and guidance. In many cases, the client's needs will be better served if he is provided with a positive form of directive counselling.

No method of counselling as such can be always effective because it is the attitudes and conviction of the counsellor which constitutes the most basic elements in the selection of a specialized counselling technique. Indeed, the success of non-directive counselling depends, to an almost overwhelming extent, on the emotional tone and intellectual background of the individual counsellor who employs it as a specialized technique.

Some counsellors favour non-directive techniques of counselling, but the majority seem to favour a democratic, but still fairly directive approach.⁴⁶ However, this is no good ground for the argument as to what technique is best, as it is perhaps only by the utilization of any of such technique by the counsellor within a given set of circumstances, that may favourably tell its end results and thus be favoured by the individual counsellor.

One must, however, note that in spite of what has been said of counselling it has its limitations. Counselling is not a panacea to solve all ills, or a magic-spell or magic-wand to do the unfathomable as one would expect of it; the counsellor has his limitations, particularly so being limited to his field of orientation; or such limitations may arise as are imposed by referral procedures, and at times limitations due to misconceptions of counselling.⁴⁷ The bio-psycho-social organization of the total self which counselling is supposed to consider, is too complex for superficial measures to be beneficial in the majority of cases of inter-personal conflict; as also

⁴⁶ cf. A. Ellis, 'Marriage Counselling', in Harms and Schreiber, *op. cit.* p. 149.

⁴⁷ cf. J. F. Cuber, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

in particular socio-economic spheres counselling without its adequate and practical aids, such as concrete welfare aids may fail to provide an incentive to change either in the relationship or within the individual.

Counselling in a Welfare State

Having presented a fairly detailed survey and analysis of counselling in general, the problem will now be dealt in a very specific manner, with reference to India. Although the conception can change but little, taking into consideration our situation, counselling will have to fit itself in a different background and its techniques will have to be adapted to the needs of its clientele. The need for counselling has emerged with the new spirit infused since our Independence, the increasing democratic movement and the sense of individualism, emancipation specially of women, legislation being an additional incentive which has gone to arouse the consciousness of its citizens.

Clients

As seen today, persons from the lower socio-economic educational groups seem likely to seek marriage counselling rather than those from the middle and higher educated groups, and the former are the individuals who are constantly confronted with immediate and severe problems; whereas persons from the higher socio-economic and educational groups seem less likely to seek counselling, as perhaps they feel confident of being able to solve their own problems, or perhaps they find it embarrassing or humiliating to own up their difficulties. It may also be that they are not aware of the existence of counselling services due to these not being sufficiently known to the public. The clients coming for counselling are less sophisticated, and have more situational than strictly emotional problems. Women are the first to seek help and guidance, but perhaps men would probably do so, if they knew of the available facilities. Yet in most instances they are co-operative and volunteer to come forward to find a solution to their problems.

Sources of Referral

Sources of referral, it may be noted, are mostly through relatives, friends, social workers, institutions and agencies, hospitals and police stations.

Counsellors

When help is offered through an organization to those in marriage difficulties, it is essential that the people offering help, usually known as marriage counsellors, should be properly selected and trained by such organization for this difficult and delicate task and they should work within the framework of the organization, its programme and policy. At the moment, there are many who can style themselves as counsellors, as counselling is still in the realm of social case-work. It will take some time before it attains that status. The nature and description of counsellors already mentioned, applies uniformly to all of them. But as to types of counsellors, a few things are worth noting. It would rather not be usual in the general context of counselling to suggest what are termed 'community counsellors'. But the latter have the merit of being able to instil a sense of 'we feeling' and to bring about quick rapport. It is not a question of sectarian or communal approach but of being able to communicate easily when language as a medium of communication plays an important part. One cannot, however, deny that a good counsellor overrides a good words technician, for one may belong to any community and yet be accepted as a good counsellor, though a knowledge of the language shared by the client is an added asset. A sense of 'we feeling' is no doubt desirable, but the person is more important. A person from the same community as the client may be in a better position to appreciate the former's background, religious sentiments, practices, and the significance thereof, although the counsellor in our Indian situation should be an adept in matters of language and understanding and taking the trouble to appreciate the setting in which he lives. Although he finds himself amidst a host of communities, he must as one who is knowledgeable rise to every occasion and participate in an enlightened manner with purpose and meaning. It should be an effort of the counsellor to learn and understand his clients in his background and setting. Women have taken the priority over others to counsel, although legal men, physicians and the like do it in their own way. Combined effort is necessary by women and members of the learned professions, who must act in unison.

The age recommended for counsellors is usually associated with seniority, experience and happy marriage. As things go, maturity and understanding need not go with age, and one's happy marriage need not necessarily bring an unhappy one to happiness. What is

important is the individual himself and his philosophy. The view that a divorcee or a widow or a person from a home where discord reigns supreme make for negative counselling is not justified. It all depends on the individual counsellor. But in any event social work by dilettantes and social climbers should not be permitted as their superficial understanding of the subject instead of doing any good is bound to do immense harm and interfere with the work of sincere and devoted workers. Counselling must be on a level of any art or science that is seriously and diligently pursued and those desiring to work in this particular field must be prepared to subject themselves to a strict and rigid discipline. The emphasis should be on the person irrespective of extraneous considerations such as his wealth, status or position in society, and in this person must be embodied the inner fulfilment and satisfaction that comes of a balanced personality.

Type of Technique and Approach to Counselling

Much anxiety, as indicated in the general discussion, is the result of pressure of social customs and mores, faulty and unrealistic education and other factors, which can be alleviated by simpler therapeutic methods, such as proper education, reassurance and co-operative aid and the like. Therefore, for therapeutic methods to achieve its purpose in many clients is limited in scope by virtue of their intellectual and emotional endowments. The fundamental problems remain mostly situational and environmental and practical.

The important techniques in a counselling situation have already been discussed. It is felt that in India, the directive approach, with effective family welfare services at hand, is the best and most effective way of handling counselling. The client-centred non-directive technique, it should be kept in mind, seems to work best with a relatively sophisticated kind of client who may already be acquainted with the methods of psychological personality analysis, and who may tend to think on the same lines about the kind of variables being important as the counsellor. In our situation, then, non-directive approach may well be much misunderstood or perhaps it may fail to be understood at all. One must remember that situational conflicts require immediate remedy and they can only be given with active directive approach and with a goal in view, namely, immediate family welfare relief. It is worthwhile keeping in mind Dr Popenoe's advice when he says: "One of the most outstanding

lessons we have learnt is that merely talking to people does not go far; the important thing is to put them to work—get them into action.”*

The client's optimism has to be responded to and just making him see or gain insight into the problem does not help. A solution is necessary whenever possible and one that is within reach. Very often the counsellor has to help him and suggest the decision as he is not in a position intellectually to grasp the point. The most successful and pragmatic methods in counselling would seem to be those that reinforce directly—practically, actively, realistically, verbally, and remuneratively—the goal in sight.

Organizational Pattern for the Guidance Services

The Bureau through which counselling is conducted has to be adequately staffed with an administrative staff such as the director and consultant, executive secretary, etc. right down to menial staff; in addition, a panel of physician, gynaecologist, psychiatrist, family planning expert, paediatrist, social worker, sociologist, teacher and lawyer must form the essential part of the staff. It is necessary they be called upon to function not only as counsellors to whom special problems can be referred but also to function on the executive committee of the Bureau so as to help in the organization and to assist the institution in making and implementing adequate policies of work method and changes in policy as may be needed from time to time.

Programme of Work

The Bureau must include and develop different forms of services and work out planned programmes thus:

- (a) *Pre-Marital Counselling*.—This is one form of service. Such a service must be designed to meet the needs of young people who are about to be married.
- (b) *Marital and Family Counselling*.—To meet the needs of men and women who are married and who face problems in their family relationships that they find themselves unable to solve without expert guidance.
- (c) It should develop an educational programme. This educational programme includes series of lectures, study-groups,

* These words are taken from a letter addressed by Dr Popenoe, President, American Institute of Family Relations, to the author.

conferences and full courses on marriage and family life. This would be of great assistance to aid the former two activities, specially for group counselling in social welfare institutions as already mentioned earlier; also these experts imparting such education could be called upon to give such specialized guidance in academic situations or in institutions where such guidance is necessary and welcome. But it may be noted that these programmes must be taken up only if there is assured a continuity in process and purpose.

Besides these, certain other functions are expected of the Bureau and although extraneous, are vital for its continuance and functioning: (1) To maintain a family welfare fund in order to have sufficient means to meet the requirements of needy clients. (2) To have a publicity wing and a research wing. Through the former to make effective communication to public in this behalf; and this may be achieved by the usual means of publicity along with audio-visual aids. The latter, a research wing, would help the Bureau and its professional staff to keep in close touch with modern scientific requirements; it is only intensive research which can bring to light new requirements and keep abreast of counselling and the need of clients. (3) To conduct well-defined training programme for counsellors and study lectures for adequate and specialized training. Library facilities are necessary to keep alive the interest of case-workers and counsellors with recent theory and practices, as also to assist clients interested in the need for such scientific literature.

Four important points as noted by A. Brayshaw⁴⁸ may be stressed here:

(1) *Efficiency and Friendliness*.—Ordinary business efficiency is essential in making appointments and organizing services of marriage guidance. It is still more important that efficiency should be wed to an informal sympathetic friendliness, which assures people that they are being welcomed and helped as individuals and not just treated as cases. In many details such as the arrangement of furnishing and staffing of premises, the aim should be to convey kindness as well as efficiency.

(2) *Finance*.—The effectiveness of any marriage guidance service must depend largely on the state of its finances. It is

⁴⁸ A. J. Brayshaw, 'Essentials of a Marriage Guidance Service', *The Journal of Family Welfare* (September 1962), Vol. IX, No. 1, p. 32.

important that adequate finance should be made available if marriage guidance work should be developed on an adequate basis. This often incurs a lot of work and anxiety in raising subscriptions and donations or in securing grants from various authorities. It is essential to raise enough money to maintain good services while not selling control of an organization either to government or to vested interests.

(3) *Representative Organizations*.—Marriage guidance organizations should not be self-appointed or self-perpetuating bodies but should be representative organizations responsible to the body of members. In this manner they can pursue a coherent policy based on common ideals and command the support they need from the community.

(4) *Consultant Services*.—Marriage counsellors should have access in appropriate cases to doctors, gynaecologists, psychiatrists, spiritual advisers, lawyers, and social workers apart from working in co-ordination with other social welfare institutions, co-operative aid societies, legal aid societies, trusts, hospitals, etc. These arrangements may need negotiating with professional groups but it is important that in some way they should have access to specialized help when it is needed, including that of birth control and sub-fertility clinics for those who desire it.

Apart from the agency organization that can help in maintaining marriage and family welfare, there is one more media which can render valuable service and that is the legal machinery of the State through its conciliatory efforts, statutes pertaining to divorce and the courts. We precisely mention this fact as social workers could do much either in preserving a marriage or terminating it when absolutely essential, but this means working closely with the legal set-up. For ultimately, it is the legal procedure and its machinery which may see the termination of a marital union.

The Court, however, has normally two kinds of statutory provisions which are effective in seeing the parties reconciled as a last resort: (1) Statutory power of the judge.⁴⁹ (2) The Indian divorce

⁴⁹ The Special Marriage Act, 1954 and The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 make it incumbent on the Court before it allows a petition for divorce, to make an attempt to reconcile the parties in cases where the presiding judge can do it, but if he fails to bring the parties to agree to live once more under the same matrimonial roof, both the husband and the wife forgetting the past, then only he is required to pass a decree dissolving the marriage tie.

laws.⁵⁰ But these have never taken into account the outside agent whose presence is desirable to help the legal machinery in the socio-psychic aspect of the problem. Although this strictly technical approach is commendable, effective solution either by granting a divorce or bringing about reconciliation requires more than legal technicalities. It would require the services of one who is specially trained to handle such matters.

For the first time there is a recognition of this need as seen from Bill 62 of 1962.

In this Bill (62 of 1962) there is some scope for the social worker. Section 39 Sub-clause (3) provides *inter alia* that the Court may refer the matter to any person named by the parties or nominated by the Court with directions to report to the Court as to whether reconciliation can be and has been effected and shall, in disposing of the proceeding, have due regard to the report. This appears to be a better attitude which the State has belatedly realized and the social worker will now come into his own and undoubtedly he will be an instrument for implementing a saner and happier state of affairs.

Certain suggestions are offered with a view to giving effect to the positive and practical side of counselling.

1. While not going to the length of suggesting that there should be a special class of lawyers who are also marriage counsellors, it certainly is suggested that a judge dealing with matrimonial causes will play a responsible role himself and will devote special care to bring about a tactful handling of the cases by his own shrewd appreciation of the cases and his own attitude towards the parties.

2. Where the parties fail in their first attempt at reconciliation and are persuaded to try again, the Court should refer them to recognized family case-work services to explore the possibilities of settlement, but if still at the close of a given period, reconciliation is not brought about, divorce proceedings may continue. Such an approach gives support and aid to the partners who are reconciliation-minded. With a view to facilitate the work of the Court, it should have a list of agencies rendering such services.

⁵⁰ Statutes often lay down a time limit before the expiration of which the parties cannot file a petition for divorce, immediately after the marriage. Vide: The Special Marriage Act, 1924, Section 29(1) and The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, Section 14(1). Besides, there is also a time limit which serves as a deterrent to hasty divorce cases, vide The Special Marriage Act, 1954, Section 30 and The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, Section 15, the time limit in both statutes being one year.

3. If we are not going in for reconciliatory Courts, then we should have bodies like the 'divorce councils' whose responsibilities are to investigate and report on the home conditions of the litigating parties, to expose perjured testimony to protect the interest of children, to aid in reconciliation in collaboration with family welfare services and to help in giving legal aid where necessary or to give information about where such aid is available.

The importance of the Fundamental Rights in Part III of the Constitution of India has already been emphasized. But of even greater importance are the Directive Principles of the State Policy set out in Part IV of the Constitution, since it has more far-reaching consequences, in the life of the nation. The Directives in our Constitution (Articles 36 to 51) are a unique and singular feature of our Constitution. These principles in action have come to be popularly known as 'Socialist Pattern of Society', or a 'Welfare State'. The welfare of the citizens in a modern democratic State involves, in the ultimate analysis, to some extent, ethical and social considerations. The advent of the doctrine of a Welfare State is based on the notion of progressive social philosophy. The point which we are considering in connection with the Directives of State policies is the manner in which these objectives have to be achieved in India and in achieving them the social workers will have to play an important part. Legislation should be undertaken to make this possible now that the Constitution has given a lead in that direction. Marital and pre-marital counselling can make for happiness; and for legislation to be productive in this particular field the Bills should be referred to reputed social workers to elicit their opinions thereon, for they are the best persons for considering the legislation which is going to effect vitally the homes and thus the well-being of the individuals who are the present and future citizens of this land. Counselling is new in this country. But granting that it is pursued and encouraged by the authorities concerned, there is no reason why it should not be successful here as in other places where it has been tried, provided that it is done in right earnest and in a spirit of dedication.

EPILOGUE

In the end all our contrivances have but one object: the continued growth of human personalities and the cultivation of the best life possible.

—LEWIS MUMFORD

EPILOGUE

THE PURSUIT FOR happiness goes on unabated. Counselling for Marital Happiness is not unknown in India, although comparatively speaking it cannot be considered that we have advanced in this field to the extent some of the countries in the West have done. Nevertheless, a beginning has been made in this direction and Counselling Bureaus and Family Welfare Centres have been set up since the last few years in various places in India. There is no doubt that as time goes on these Bureaus and Centres will be on the increase. In a small way counselling has been conducted by church parishes and schools and other social welfare agencies, but these cannot be considered to be either adequate to the present need for counselling or to be of a sufficiently advanced type as to claim for these the status which they deserve in terms of scientific bias. Schools of social work have also recently started doing specialized courses in marriage counselling and family welfare, but the time is yet to gauge the results thereof in terms of achievement.

As has been observed, the quality of counselling depends as much on its merits as a science-cum-art as the skill, knowledge and the ability of the individual counsellor. The need for counselling services in this country has been long since felt and this feeling is gradually growing with the increase in the number of discord and desertion cases. At the Convention of the International Federation of Women Lawyers held at New Delhi on 23 November 1964, the delegates to the Convention suggested in connection with the marriage laws that for pre-marriage guidance by approved counselling agencies should be encouraged and that such agencies should be set up with Government subsidies. This evidently shows that the realization of the need not only for marital but pre-marital counselling has dawned upon us.

Life has become extremely complex and demands new adjust-

ments. In the realm of marriage, counselling has much to achieve to bring about these adjustments as near to perfection as is humanly possible. But as it has its own shortcomings, among others, due to the fact that it cannot be brought to the level of scientific precision and because of the human element involved in the make-up of the individual counsellor. We do not know to what extent it can bring happiness in the inter-personal relationship. There are no ready-made and immediate solutions to problems, but in order to eliminate as far as possible the factors of discord there must be intelligent, enlightened and proper guidance. There must be a social climate, an atmosphere in which the individual can find his bearings before a warped and aberrant pattern has a chance to form. But it has to be the endeavour of every counsellor in this behalf like a master-craftsman to attend to every facet of the individual personality to increase the worth of the whole man and thus to embellish human life.

Youth figures very prominently, and that is because so many of the situations which have to be faced are associated with that period. There is an universal revolt of youth and the much made of 'Beatniks' and 'Beatles' are symptomatic of this revolt. In many countries on the continent, the present generation of women in breaking violently with the past have propelled themselves into an atmosphere of freedom hitherto unknown to them. In India, the traditional concept of the ideal woman has not been swept away, and there is no violent break with the past. But it cannot be gainsaid that there is a tendency in modern youth with the taste of new freedom evident of the times, to show resentment with the *status quo* and impatience with the traditional and conventional customs, standards and values. In the result, the parents are summoned to keep abreast of youth's progress and to appreciate their aspirations and urges. In spite of modern and Western influence, the moorings of our youth are still to be found in our traditional ways and norms, and much of its outlook is conditioned by this. In the recent International Federation of Parent Education,* which has come recently into being, it was noted that although 65 associations and 25 institutions from 25 countries in Europe, Africa and North and South America are now active members, the Asian countries have not so far joined the new organization. It was further noted that this tends to indicate that obedience to parents is the rule rather than the

* *The Indian Express*, 20 August 1964.

exception in these countries. It was found necessary to bring into existence the Federation not only due to lack of understanding between the two generations but because it would also make an effective contribution to family relations.

We should however not be led to believe that tradition has removed the sting from our youth. Young people have begun to question traditional values as their minds are swayed by the present trend of events here and abroad. Conflict in youth has raised its ugly head amongst us, and the misgivings in the minds of young people of the value of tradition in the contemporary landscape is apparent. How best this conflict can be resolved to the satisfaction both of the parents and youth and for the betterment of society, is a question that will have to be explored on another occasion. It must be admitted that the State has become aware of the general awakening and of the growing consciousness of youth and also of the upsurge of hope as a result of this country's independence and the law in our country in a way has responded to social changes in keeping with its constructive and positive role as an instrument of social change. It has, as we have seen, gone even further and has tried to take the citizens forward with it. Legislation thereby in this country has invited social change. As Mr M. C. Setalvad,* the former Attorney-General of India observed recently, "Rarely has a democratic country made so bold an attempt as we in India after the Constitution to harness society as it were to law and speed it along at a rapid pace".

Human beings are unable to achieve fulfilment due to one reason or another. It is none the less their duty to strive to bring about this fulfilment in their lives with or without help. However, individuals are often unable to achieve adjustments on their own and need assistance. Such assistance as counselling can give, to that extent will it be of value to society. This value can be enhanced with better and greater counselling services which are the need of this country today. Only when counselling attains that standard when one can say with confidence that it has the capacity to deal with the problems effectively and expeditiously that it will have achieved its goal in contributing to the happiness of the individual and the welfare of society.

* Mr Setalvad's 'Munshi Endowment Lecture' delivered on 21 December 1964 at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, as reported in the issue of *The Times of India* of 22 December 1964.

Life is larger than any Art or Science, and its problems cannot be contained within the compass of any one skill or specialization. Only a harmonious and judicious combination of the various skills, counselling being not the least of them, can help to bring about the integrated individual and thus bring us nearer to the epoch of the enlightened man.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

DRAFT OUTLINE OF PILOT SCHEME FOR COUNSELLING SERVICES

FAMILY COUNSELLING BUREAU

ORGANIZATION

FAMILY COUNSELLING SERVICES can be conducted either by a Bureau established specially for that purpose or under the auspices of a Social Welfare Institution as one of its activities. In either case, the administrative set-up to begin with would be largely on the following lines:

I(A) Supervisory and Advisory Capacity	}	President
		Vice-President
Administrative and Professional staff	}	Director
		Deputy Director
Office staff		Secretary, Treasurer, and Clerical staff

(B) Managing Committee.—This Committee will consist of the aforesaid President, Vice-President, Director, Deputy-Director, Secretary, Treasurer, as also one representative of each of the undermentioned panels.

II. Persons who will constitute the respective panels to be selected for effective functioning of the Bureau:

(a) *Counsellors*: 3 to 4 social workers primarily, who must also be professional persons. It is preferable that there should be linguistic or community representation.*

(b) *Professionals*: Persons trained in counselling techniques, who will be appointed on any one of the 3 panels mentioned below. Each panel is set up to deal with problems in specified areas.

* Although representation of this nature is not salutary in a very broad sense, it is necessary for the limited purpose of achieving rapport with clients; and as far as counselling therapy is considered, its need cannot be over-emphasized.

(i) The Medical Panel will consist of—

Physician	} any of these may be the family planning expert.
Obstetrician and Gynaecologist	
Venereologist	
Psychiatrist	
Paediatrist	

(ii) The Legal Panel will consist of—

A member of the legal profession
 A practising lawyer
 A professor of law familiar with marriage and divorce laws and laws relating to family welfare.

(iii) The Educational Panel will consist of—

An educationist
 Student counsellor
 Special counsellor for vocational guidance and children's problems.

III. Liaison arrangement and contacts to be maintained with:

1. Child and family welfare institutions.
2. Employment Bureaus and personnel officers.
3. Trusts, Charities and Foreign Aid Societies.
4. Hospitals.
5. Legal Aid Societies.
6. Schools and Colleges.
7. Matrimonial and Juvenile Courts.

The above arrangement facilitates 'referral' by counsellors to agencies and institutions on the one hand, and by Courts and Institutions to counsellors on the other.

IV. The Bureau should maintain on its own if possible (finances permitting):

A Family Planning Unit
 A Family Welfare Fund*
 A Publicity Unit
 A Research Unit
 A Library for use of clients and counsellors.

* Donations to the Family Counselling Fund may be accepted and a box kept for the purpose. Any payment made would be purely voluntary and not compulsory, until such time as an institution feels that it is well equipped to meet the need on a full-fledged professional level.

The administrative set-up as shown above envisages the role to be played by the counsellor within the framework of each panel just indicated, depending in the main on the nature of the case in hand. Often a counsellor may need 'referral' to specialists or professional persons, viz., a doctor, a lawyer, an educationist, etc., because he himself may belong to a particular profession, and the problem to be tackled may call for some other professional attention than his own. He has perforce, in the circumstances, to avail himself of the facilities offered by the different panels. This is more in keeping with a full-fledged programme of counselling.

Cases would also arise where a problem is involved and extends to more than one area of counselling, and these may need the services of one or more counsellors or specialists.

FUNCTIONS OF THE BUREAU

1. *Pre-Marital Guidance*

This service is designed to meet the needs of young people who are about to be married.

The aim of counselling here must be:

- (a) to increase the functioning of the individual,
- (b) to increase awareness,
- (c) communications at all levels,
- (d) to change hurtful attitudes,
- (e) to increase self-esteem, and
- (f) to increase the scope of living through action.

2. *Marital and Family Counselling*

This service is meant to meet the needs of married couples who face problems in family relationships, which they find they are unable to solve without expert guidance.

Counselling here deals with:

- (a) dynamics of family life,
- (b) responsibilities and roles of individual members in the family,
- (c) the use of relationship of husband and wife in the following areas, viz., physical, social, psychic and spiritual,
- (d) adjustment and adaptability of the spouses,
- (e) hazards to health and distress in family living,
- (f) economics in marriage and family life, and
- (g) planning for the future.

3. *Educational Follow-up Programme*

The Bureau must develop an educational programme as under:

- (a) The educational programme includes series of lectures, study-groups, conferences and full courses on marriage and family life.
- (b) Conducting a well-defined training programme for counsellors and study lectures with a view to impart adequate and specialized training.
- (c) A feed-back or follow-up of data obtained from the intake of the Bureau, to enable the Bureau to improve in its functioning as it advances.

Function No. 1 described in more detail:

*The Pre-Marital Sphere**General Education of Youth*

1. Education in personal, emotional development and human relations.
2. Education in domestic or home-science.
3. Sex education.

Pre-Marital Instructions

1. General preparation for marriage.
2. Specific situation or problem.
3. Involved disturbance and/or problem.

These services may be rendered through special interviews with the individual with specific problems; or talks in schools and institutions (welfare particularly), conducted by the Bureau if and when desired and requested, combined with follow-up method.

The talks are to be given separately to boys and girls, although at times joint group sessions may be taken depending upon the nature of the talk and the discussion groups.

The age-group desirable for such talks and lectures, in case of

(A) General Education is 14 to 16-18 years, and

(B) Pre-Marital Instruction is 19 to 21-25 years and onwards.

(A) GENERAL EDUCATION

(Age-Group 14 to 16-18 years)

Broadly, the talks or lectures* will be in the form, content and order concisely given as under:

Lecture

No.

1. General talks on the nature, aims and objects of the scheme.
2. The role of education in the building of personality — development of the self — overcoming complexes — creating interests and hobbies — gaining perspectives in aptitudes — vocational guidance.
3. The building and development of the personality within the home, friends circle, leadership, the difference of the sexes (psychological and physical).
4. Developing relationships — parent-child relationship — human relationships — worker-role relationships — leadership — citizenship — the family — the individual in society.
- 5.(a) The personal factor, i.e. the physical and biological — anatomical — the reproductive mechanism — puberty in males and females — general hygiene.
- (b) The genetical factor.
- 6.(c) The psychological factor.
7. Family: (i) Concepts in General.
- (ii) Marriage and Family.
- (iii) Family and Society.
8. (iv) Citizen and Welfare.
- (v) Children and the State.
- (vi) Law and Society.
9. Some social problems — roles and responsibilities. Group discussions — Venereal Diseases and Family Planning to be touched upon.

* The details of the lectures or talks will have to be worked out before they are delivered or given. But by and large, the talks or lectures would be an elucidation of the subjects covered under the various captions mentioned above and the section on pre-marital instruction, which follows.

The boys and girls will form essentially two separate groups, according to the sexes, and instructions suited to the groups will have to be imparted. The mentor would however decide when joint group discussions are to be held.

(B) PRE-MARITAL INSTRUCTION
(Age-Group 16 to 18 years and onwards)

*Lecture**No.*

1. General talks or lectures on purpose and aim of scheme:
Life, its growth and evolution — higher evolution — social change, its impact on marriage and family — progressive education and education for family life and living.
2. Preparation for marriage and family:
Courtship — a continual preparation — kinds of courtship — the need for courtship etc.
Selection of a partner — hazards to selection, characteristics of the partners.
3. Engagement — preparation for marriage:
 - (a) Mental aspect:
Compatibility of husband and wife — the difference in psychology of men and women — hereditary traits.
 - 4.(b) Physical aspect:
Physiology of sex — sexual difficulties — dubilities and abnormalities — pre-marital examination — sex in marriage — adjustment in marriage — early days in marriage — contraception in marriage — hygiene in marriage — early difficulties in marriage — adjustment in marriage.
 - 5.(c) Environmental aspect:
In-laws — children.
 - 6.(d) Ethical aspects.
 - 7.(e) Practical aspect:
 - (i) laws relating to marriage — law and ceremony.
 - (ii) the home — home management — conception and pregnancy — children and family planning — motherhood and career — the first born — sub-fertility — adoption — living happily together.

Function No. 2 described in detail:

P O S T - M A R I T A L *

By interview methods, any of the counsellors may take up the case, and the referral, if and when necessary, to experts in particular fields. These cases have an individual causation of their own, depending on the particular case. The investigation by the counsellor may come in any of the undermentioned areas:

*The scheme of pre-marital and post-marital counselling just described includes sex education, marriage counselling, and family planning. It may be noted that counselling in family welfare services is a broader concept which includes all the aforesaid services. In the pre-marital sphere, we have the sex education programme, the post-marital sphere being that of marriage counselling. Family Planning and planned parenthood is a service which is included in marriage counselling services and pre-marital services.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Area of Personal Response: Sex, Health | Physical |
| 2. Area of Non-Physical Response: Personality | Bio-socio-psychic |
| 3. Area of Social Response: Inter-personal relationship | Socio-cultural |
| 4. Other general areas | { Socio-economic, Socio-religious and ethical |

BLUEPRINT FOR THE BUREAU'S PREMISES*

It is essential that the accommodation in a Bureau should be so provided as to be conducive to strict maintenance of secrecy; in addition to this it is necessary to see that:

1. The set-up and the tone of construction of the premises is such so as to inspire confidence in and to put a person at ease.
2. There is an atmosphere of informality and pleasantness.
3. That a person feels relaxed and there is freedom from tenseness and tautness.
4. That the identity of the clients is not disclosed in any way.

* The elaboration of the plan for construction of the Bureau's premises so as to bring about the desired results, would require going into greater detail which is not the purpose of this outline.

*Appendix IA*TABLE SHOWING THE CASTES OF SOME COMMUNITIES OF THE COUPLES
AS COMPUTED FROM THE COURT RECORDS

Jews	7
Christians	25
Bengalis	7
Muslims	33
Sindhis	34
Punjabis and Sikhs	18
Rajputs	11
North Indians	14
Jains	11
Madrasis	8
Mysorians	2
<i>Maharashtrians</i>	
Marathas	154
Maharashtrian Brahmins	125
Saraswat Brahmins	61
Daivdyana or Sonar community	13
Prabhu and Dakhshina	12
Vaishyavani	10
C.K.P.	17
S.K.P.	10
Lingayat	5
Bhandaris	17
Kolis (Agris)	6
Kamatis	1
Chambars	3
Mahars	1
Harijans	7
Nabar	1
Gujarati and Kutchi	245
<i>Others</i>	
Chinese	1
Inter-caste	5
Inter-communal	13
Unknown	17

N.B. Among applications made to Court generally, Maharashtrians, Brahmins and Marathas predominate; non-Brahmins come next. The lower castes usually have customary divorce. But now, even they are taking recourse to the law Courts although not many. As seen from the Table, the Kolis, Agris, Kamatis, Chambars and Harijans take resort to Court of Law for divorce proceedings or necessary redress in this behalf.

Appendix IB

LIST SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MATRIMONIAL SUITS INSTITUTED IN THE BOMBAY HIGH COURT (MATRIMONIAL JURISDICTION) AND THOSE TRANSFERRED BY THE LATTER TO THE BOMBAY CITY CIVIL COURT FROM 1 JANUARY 1954 TO 31 AUGUST 1964

<i>Year</i>	<i>Instituted in High Court</i>	<i>Transferred to Bombay City Civil Court</i>
1954	75	27
1955	58	23
1956	17	10
1957	29	2
1958	30	12
1959	25	18
1960	38	13
1961	26	17
1962	22	12
1963	16	9
1964 (31 August)	19	9

N.B. Bombay Act No. 26 of 1950—*The Bombay Matrimonial (Transfer of Cases) Act*, 1950, provides for transfer of matrimonial cases to subordinate Courts in the State of Bombay and Section 4A of this Act deals with the power of High Court to transfer matrimonial cases to the City Court.

Appendix IC

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF DESERTION
DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 1953
TO SEPTEMBER 1964

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>
1953	10
1954	20
1955	30
1956	43
1957	65
1958	86
1959	71
1960	85
1961	83
1962	70
1963	74
1964 (September)	61

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF DIVORCE
DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 1954
TO AUGUST 1964

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>
1954	16
1955	112
1956	171
1957	176
1958	267
1959	55
1960	201
1961	245
1962	239
1963	269
1964 (August)	243

*Appendix ID*A CLOSER EXAMINATION OF MOST MAJOR AND COMPLEMENTARY FACTORS OF DISCORD
OF CASES FROM THE AGENCY—DETAILED STATISTICAL ANALYSIS TABULATED

I Interference and ill-treatment from in-laws and family members II Infidelity III Economic distress IV Personal defects V Vices VI Incompatibility VII Sex difficulties VIII Health IX Living conditions X Other causes			
<i>Interference and ill-treatment by family member as a Major Factor</i>		<i>Interference by family members as a Complementary Factor</i>	
Interference and ill-treatment associated with mother-in-law	42		7
Interference and ill-treatment associated with sister-in-law	14		3
Interference and ill-treatment associated with brother-in-law	7		2
Interference and ill-treatment associated with family members not specified	33		9
	<hr/> 96		<hr/> 21
<i>Infidelity as a Major Factor</i>		<i>Infidelity as a Complementary Factor</i>	
(a) Extra-marital affair by husband	28		5
(b) Extra-marital affair by wife	8		1
(c) Infidelity suspected			
(i) in case of wives	6		1
(ii) in case of husbands	3		—
	<hr/> 45		<hr/> 7
<i>Economic distress as a Major Factor</i>		<i>Economic distress as a Complementary Factor</i>	
Unemployment	12		5
Lack of income and insufficient income	6		3
Irregular income	6		—
Not specified nature of economic distress	14		9
	<hr/> 38		<hr/> 17

<i>Personal defects as a Major Factor</i>		<i>Personal defects as a Complementary Factor</i>	
Suspicious nature of husband	4	Inferiority complex of wife	1
Bad temper of husband	4	Immaturity of husband	2
Bad temper of wife	2	Immaturity of wife	4
Disturbed personality of husband	1	Suspicious nature of husband	4
Disturbed personality of wife	1	Irresponsible nature of wife	1
Dominating husband	1	Bad temper of husband	2
Dominating wife	1	Bad temper of wife	3
Sadistic trait in husband	1	Jalous nature of husband	1
Immaturity of husband	1	Possessive nature of husband	1
Immaturity of wife	4	Incestuous nature of husband	1
		Cruel nature of wife	1
		Dominating wife	1
	<hr/> 20 <hr/>		<hr/> 22 <hr/>

<i>Vices</i>		<i>Vices</i>	
Drinking	7		5
Gambling and drinking	6		8
Bad company and 'other sex'	3		4
	<hr/> 16 <hr/>		<hr/> 17 <hr/>

<i>Incompatibility as a Major Factor</i>		<i>Incompatibility as a Complementary Factor</i>	
Incompatibility of 'age'	8		3
Incompatibility of 'background'	1		—
Incompatibility of 'interests'	2		—
Incompatibility of 'religions'	3		—
Incompatibility of 'opinions'	—		1
	<hr/> 14 <hr/>		<hr/> 4 <hr/>

<i>Sex difficulties as a Major Factor</i>		<i>Sex difficulties as a Complementary Factor</i>	
Sexual deviation or perversions	2		2
Sex disease in husband	2		—
Impotency of husband	2		—
Frigidity of wife	1		—
Sexual difficulty not specified	1		—
	<hr/> 8 <hr/>		<hr/> 2 <hr/>

<i>Health as a Major Factor</i>		<i>Health as a Complementary Factor</i>	
Physical ill-health of wife	2		3
Not specified	1	Ill-health of husband	1
	<hr/> 3 <hr/>		<hr/> 4 <hr/>
<i>Living conditions as a Major Factor</i>		<i>Living conditions as a Complementary Factor</i>	
No accommodation	1		6
Ill-provided accommodation	1		3
	<hr/> 2 <hr/>		<hr/> 9 <hr/>
<i>'Other' Major Factors</i>		<i>'Other' Complementary Factors</i>	
Wife's objection to second marriage of husband	2	Husband not aware it was second marriage of his wife	1
Previous wife could not get on with second wife	2	She was forced to marry him	1
New wife not aware of previous wife	2	Not aware she was his third wife	1
Husband not aware it was second marriage of wife	1		
Marriage against her wish	2		
Husband did not like her	2		
	<hr/> 11 <hr/>		<hr/> 3 <hr/>

Appendix IE (i)

PETITIONERS (WIVES) MENTION MAIN COMPLAINT (MAJOR FACTORS) AND COMPLEMENTARY FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR MARITAL DISCORD AND/OR DISORGANIZATION AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE MARITAL UNION

	<i>As main complaint</i>	<i>Complementary</i>	<i>Husband in reply</i>
Ill-treatment by husband	44	73	—
General ill-treatment by his family members	62	88	—
<i>Health</i>			
Ill-health	1	1	—
<i>Sex</i>			
Sexual disharmony	6	8	3
Sex disease	1	2	—
Non-consummation	6	21	10
<i>Personal defects</i>			
Bad temper	2	5	—
Suspicious nature	7	7	2
Cold and indifferent	2	5	2
Aversion	4	1	1
<i>Vices</i>			
Drinking	15	13	—
Gambling	6	7	—
Bad company and other sex	6	10	—
<i>Infidelity</i>			
Extra-marital affairs	2	5	6
Adultery	1	7	6
Already married	2	1	1
Desire to remarry	1	1	4
Contacted second marriage	3	3	—
<i>Incompatibility of</i>			
Working conditions	4	3	3
Temperament	2	3	—
Status	—	1	2
<i>Financial difficulties</i>			
Economic insecurity	24	17	—
Wife used for immoral purposes	—	4	—
<i>Living conditions</i>			
Lack of accommodation	5	16	2
<i>Other</i>			
Fraud	5	7	1
Conversion	4	—	—
Repudiation of the marriage	2	—	—

N.B. It may be noted that when wife is petitioner complaint is generally about husband as being chiefly responsible for disruption of the marital union.

Appendix IE (ii)

PETITIONERS (HUSBANDS) MENTION MAIN COMPLAINT (MAJOR FACTORS) AND COMPLEMENTARY FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR MARITAL DISCORD AND/OR DISORGANIZATION AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE MARITAL UNION

	<i>As main complaint</i>	<i>Complementary</i>	<i>Wife in reply</i>
<i>Health</i>	3	3	—
<i>Sex</i>			
Sexual disharmony	5	4	2
Sex disease	—	1	2
Impotency	1	1	1
Relative impotency	1	1	2
Non-consummation	8	25	3
<i>Personal defects</i>			
Bad temper	5	10	4
Suspicious nature	2	2	6
Cold and indifferent	7	16	2
Aversion	4	1	—
Quarrelsome	8	8	—
<i>Vices</i>			
Drinking	—	—	3
Gambling	—	—	1
Bad company	5	3	8
<i>Incompatibility of</i>			
Working conditions	10	3	3
Temperament	—	1	1
Interests	6	—	—
Opinions	1	2	2
Status	—	—	—
Education	2	2	9
Outlook	1	2	5
<i>Infidelity</i>			
Wife pregnant before marriage	1	1	—
Adultery	19	9	3
Extra-marital affair	3	3	7
Already married	1	1	1
Desire to remarry	1	1	13
Contacted second marriage	—	1	2
<i>Financial difficulties</i>	—	6	—
<i>Living conditions</i>			
Lack of accommodation	3	9	12
<i>Other</i>			
Fraud	6	18	4
Conversion	2	1	—
Denounced the world	3	1	—

N.B. It may be noted that when husband is petitioner complaint is generally about wife as being chiefly responsible for disruption of the marital union.

Appendix IIA

DETAILS OF THE COMMUNITY DISTRIBUTION OF THE STUDENT
AND NON-STUDENT RESPONDENTS

<i>Community</i>	<i>Students</i>			<i>Non-Students</i>		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Com- bined</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Com- bined</i>
Maharashtrian Brahmins	16	12	28	25	5	30
Other Maharashtrians	11	9	20	12	4	16
Gujaratis and Kutchi Lohana	11	13	24	3	2	5
Sindhis	9	25	34	1	2	3
Rajputs	—	1	1	—	—	—
U. P.	1	1	2	—	—	—
Reddy	1	—	1	—	—	—
Madrasis	—	1	1	2	2	4
Nairs	3	—	3	1	1	2
Sikhs and Punjabis	1	1	2	3	3	6
Bengalis	—	2	2	2	—	2
Broadly stated Hindu	5	7	12	5	3	8
Jains	2	4	6	1	1	2
Muslims	5	5	10	8	3	11
Parsees	2	9	11	6	10	16
Christians	3	5	8	12	13	25
Jews	—	1	1	3	1	4
Not stated	2	2	4	—	—	—
TOTAL	72	98	170	84	50	134

Appendix IIB

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is prepared in order to elicit from persons to whom it is issued their views on sex, courtship and marriage and to assess their attitudes thereon. It is designed and formulated with a view to pinpoint certain tendencies and so-called truths prevalent in our social fabric and to ascertain from the enlightened and informed section of the community its conclusions in this behalf.

The questionnaire is in the main addressed to those contemplating marriage; its objective being to obtain an intelligent appreciation of marriage in all its ramifications, and as a result thereof, to ascertain the need for pre-marital and Marriage Counselling in future. In brief, the emphasis in this survey is to find out the necessity for pre-marital services in our country.

This questionnaire is issued by the undersigned under the guidance of Dr G. S. Ghurye (Professor Emeritus, University of Bombay) and is intended to be utilized by the undersigned for the purposes of submitting her thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the Bombay University, as a result of the research study of some of the important and pressing social problems.

This questionnaire is strictly confidential and you need not mention your name.

Your full co-operation is earnestly solicited.

Thanking you,

(Miss) M. B. FONSECA, M.A.

Research Student

University Department of Sociology
University of Bombay

1. Name of College/Institution where you are studying or place where you are employed.
2. Your age.
3. Your sex.
4. Your religion. Do you practise it?
5. Community to which you belong.
6. Caste to which you belong.
7. Your present occupation.
8. If student, state class in which you are studying.
9. Your educational status.
10. (a) Do you stay with your parents, or with relations or as a paying guest?
(b) Are you putting up with a family, in a hostel, or a boarding and lodging house?
11. What is the educational status and occupation of your father and/or mother?
12. What is the marital status of your parents?
(a) Married (both living);

- (b) Both deceased or either deceased (specify which one);
 - (c) Separated;
 - (d) Divorced.
13. Rate the marital happiness of your parents. Are they—
- (a) extremely happy
 - (b) happy
 - (c) moderately happy
 - (d) unhappy
 - (e) somewhat unhappy, and
 - (f) extremely unhappy
14. Is your home environment orthodox, conventional or advanced?
15. (i) (a) Is your home environment conducive to discussing matters of sex?
- (b) Are questions of sex and marriage discussed freely in your home?
 - (c) Are these subjects considered as taboo?

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

- (ii) Are views expressed by members of family—
- (a) orthodox;
 - (b) conventional;
 - (c) advanced; or
 - (d) radical.

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

16. Do you personally consider discussion on questions of sex and marriage as taboo?
- Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.
17. What is the sex education imparted to you in the home?
- (a) None at all;
 - (b) Perfunctory; or
 - (c) Adequate.
18. Do you consider your knowledge on sex, husband and wife relationship, etc., adequate preparation for marriage?
- *(a) Yes;
 - (b) No;
 - (c) Doubtful.
19. Kindly state the source from which you obtained your knowledge of sex and marriage.
- *(a) Scientific literature;
 - (b) Pornographic literature;
 - (c) Parents;
 - (d) Friends;
 - (e) Teachers;
 - (f) Films;
 - (g) Fiction;
 - (h) Any other source.

*Strike out whatever is not applicable.

20. State whether in your view the question of sex and marriage should be considered in the context of caste, culture, religion and law?

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

21. State whether your views on questions of sex and marriage are influenced by caste, creed, culture, law or otherwise? Or are you rational about it?
22. What is your view of marriage?

*(i) Is it a civil contract. or

(ii) A sacred union.

23. In which of the following ways would you like your marriage to be solemnized?

(i) Under the Special Marriage Act, 1954 (popularly known as registered marriage) only.

(ii) Registered marriage together with religious ceremony.

(iii) Religious ceremony only.

24. Do you consider religious rites and ceremonies, psychologically speaking, as conducive to a happy marriage?

State 'Yes' or 'No'.

If 'Yes' kindly give your reasons.

25. Do you believe that a marriage should have both religious and legal sanction? Give reasons, if any?

26. (i) Are you engaged, to be engaged or to be married?

(ii) If engaged, how was the match arranged---

(a) by your own choice;

(b) by your and parents choice combined;

(c) by the parents in consultation with you;

(d) by the parents without consulting you.

27. Is one justified in breaking an engagement, and if so, under what circumstances?

28. Have you broken an engagement and why?

29. Do you desire a period of courtship between engagement (betrothal) and marriage?

Mention the period.

30. If engaged, what is the period that should elapse between your engagement and marriage?

31. (i) Do you favour---

(a) caste marriage;

(b) inter-caste marriage;

(c) inter-communal marriage.

If you have any objection against any of the above, mention the nature of your objection.

(ii) If you are engaged or to be married, state whether your partner is of your caste and community; or of a different caste and community.

32. What is the consideration which influenced you and/or your parents in the selection of your marriage partner?

33. Should the horoscope of the parties be the determining factor whether marriage should or should not take place between them irrespective of their own wishes.

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

34. Would you prefer after your marriage to stay in the joint family or to stay separately?

State your reasons.

If you like to stay in the joint family, kindly state if with parents or married brothers or both.

35. Are you interested in obtaining proper knowledge of sex, family, marital relations, inter-personal relationship, etc. to enable you to live a happy married life?

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

36. Would you like problems confronting you regarding sex and/or marriage and related problems to be discussed intelligently?

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

37. Would you prefer sex education in colleges or occasional debates, lectures or seminars to promote healthy discussion on sex?

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

38. (i) Would you rather consult your parents, relations, friends, spiritual guide in your difficulties, doubts, fears, faults, failings, etc. relating to sex and for pre-marital advice.

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

- (ii) Or would you prefer to consult a Counselling Bureau of trained, qualified and experienced persons who would try to understand and appreciate your difficulties?

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

39. What are the areas in which you would like to have your problems solved?

(i) Physical, i.e. problems relating to sex knowledge, medical examination, etc.

(ii) Psychological, i.e., problems relating to emotional fitness, neurosis, etc.

(iii) Genetical, i.e., problems relating to hereditary factors, eugenics, etc.

(iv) Legal, i.e., problems relating to age at marriage, registered marriages, inter-caste marriages, etc.

40. If you have had any such problems mentioned above, have they been solved so far? If so, how?

41. In the selection of your marriage partner, would you prefer to register yourself with a Matrimonial Guidance Bureau?

Answer 'Yes' or 'No'.

42. Do you think your parents capable of arranging a suitable match for you, or would rather have the choice of marriage partner left to you alone?

43. In your opinion, is pre-marital check-up—
 - *(a) desirable;
 - (b) essential;
 - (c) not necessary.
44. What would you consider as permitted in pre-marital courtship?
State fully giving reasons.
45. Would you consider pre-marital sex relations with your fiancé or fiancée, as the case may be, proper?
46. Do you think that the present legislation is adequate in respect of marriage, divorce, judicial separation etc.
If not, state what additional provisions you would like to be made or legislation introduced?
47. At the threshold of marriage, what is your attitude towards it? That it is—
 - *(a) an indissoluble bond;
 - (b) subject to dissolution;
 - (c) matter of mutual agreement and adjustment personal to the parties concerned.
48. If you have a philosophy of marriage, about nature and purpose of marriage, kindly state it as fully as you can.
49. Do you believe in family planning for yourself. If yes, then state its exact nature and extent.
50. Remarks and/or suggestions, if any?

Appendix IIC

DETAILS OF CONSIDERATIONS WHICH INFLUENCED THE RESPONDENTS AND/OR THEIR PARENTS
IN SELECTION OF A MARRIAGE PARTNER

<i>Students</i>		<i>Non-Students</i>	
<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Nature, feelings and love Love, good relationship between family Beauty Pleasing nature, clever and practical in social life Culture, behaviour natural beauty, mental status Well trained in household affairs, social and polite, moderately educated and fair looking Beautiful appearance and family honour	Fascination Hardworking and honest Personal liking and suitability of the match Suitable with regards to education, family and his ability to earn Love, character, ideas of life, money last consideration Integrity of the family character, education and culture Good faith, conduct and behaviour and same taste Good status and standing, good family background, personal qualities such as character Education, good habits, good character and money Well placed in profession, good income To me and my parents: culture, family background Health, education, social status, inde- pendent nature services For myself: loving nature, good looking	Education, physical fitness, beauty Character, health, family and some extent looks Smart girl who can face problems boldly Character and conduct Long acquaintance, sin- cerity, trust, admiration of character, ideas, edu- cation	Maturity of mind Intelligence Love Love Good character, honesty, integrity, looks and finan- cial security

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INDEX

INDEX

- ACTS,
 Bombay Hindu Divorce, the, 1957, 54
 Hindu Marriage, the, 1955, 15
 Hindu Succession, the, 1956, 16
 Hindu Women's Right to Property, the, 1937, 16
 Special Marriage, 1954, 15
 marriages solemnised under, 17
 Adultery, *see* Infidelity
- Age
 at discord for males and females median, 51
 at first marriage of couples in agency and court recordings, 36, 37
 at marriage, 36
 at marriage of males and females, median, 51
 at time of discord, 50
 differentials, 46-50
- Ages
 disparity in the, 36
 domestic harmony associated with marriage, 36
- Agency, couples seeking advice in the,
 age at marriage, 36-8
 age at time of registration, 50-1
 age differentials, 46-7
 children and ages of children, 54
 community, 33-5
 desertion as seen from, 52, 78
 education, 38
 education of husbands, 77
 major and complementary factors of discord as seen from, 65
 marital period and duration of marriage, 51, 52
 monthly income of husbands, 42-3
 nature of desertion, 78
 occupation of husbands, 42-3
 outcome of cases of, 97
 structure of family, 56-7
see also Bapnu Ghar
- BAPNU GHAR
 as social institution, 30
 records of, 30
 representative character of, 30
 shelter provided in, 30
 women in, 30
- Bill 62 of 1962*, 238
 Bombay City Civil Court jurisdiction of, 33, 35, 60
- Bureau, 235
 functions, 235
 programme of work, 235
- Bureaus
 counselling, 243
- CHILDREN, 54
 age of, 55
 couples and number of, 55, 56
 family disintegration and, 55-6
 upbringing of, 186
- Cities,
 growth of modern, 7
- Client, 227, 231
- Clients, 232

- Community, 33-4
 - as background element, 33
 - as seen from City Civil Court papers and proceedings, 35
 - of couples in desertion cases from the agency, 33-5
- Conflict, 18-9, 21-3, 90, 95, 195, in youth, 245
 - on the sexual level, 85
 - role conflict, 20, 198
 - understanding of, 203
- Counselling, 25, 180, 212-3, 222, 224-5, 230, 234, 239, 243, 245
 - definition of, 224-6
 - for marital happiness, 243
 - goal of, 229
 - historical perspective, of, 215-20
 - in a welfare state, 232
 - informal, 207
 - in marriage, 25
 - marital and family, 235
 - marriage, 178, 206, 217, 220
 - method of, 230-1
 - pre-marital, 25, 204-8, 217, 235, 243
 - pre-marital and post-marital, 229
 - professional fields and, 221
 - suggestions for the practical side of, 238
 - technique and approach, 234
 - type of technique, 230
 - various forms of, 211
- Counsellor, 227
 - community, 227
 - 'complete', 228
 - interview and the marriage, 228
 - qualities and qualifications, 228
- Counsellors, 233
 - community, 233
 - techniques favoured by, 231
- Court, couples coming to,
 - age at marriage, 37-8
 - age at time of application, 50-1
 - age differential, 48
 - analysis made of cases of, 61
 - children and ages of children, 55-6
 - community, 35
 - desertion and discord as seen from, 51-2, 78
 - duration of marriage, 53
 - education, 38-9
 - education of husbands, 40, 77
 - income and occupation, 44, 45
 - monthly income and profession, 45
 - nature of relief sought, 95
 - objective factors of desertion, 77
 - principal and complementary factors of discord, 67-76
 - statutory provisions of court, 237
 - study of recordings, 31
 - structure of family, 57
- DESERTION, 21 52, 57-8, 77, 79, 83
 - comparison of, as seen from court and agency cases, 78
 - education in cases of, 78
 - objective factors of, 77
 - occupational status in, 78
 - social factor responsible for, 79
- Discord, 62, 90, 208
 - and family disorganization and disintegration, 61
 - as recorded from institutional cases, factors of, 65-6, 67-76
 - as seen from the families in court, factors of, 68-76
 - domestic, 93
 - 'extra familial' causes of, 197
 - in extended family, origin of, 79
 - in family, 93
 - main sources of, 63, 64
 - personal area of, 64
 - personal disorganization and, 64
 - personal non-physical area of, 88-9
 - social area of, 64
 - socio-economic area of, 64
 - understanding of, 203
- Disorganization and Disintegration, *see* Desertion, Discord and Family
- Divorce, 21, 22, 58, 60
 - grounds set out for, 61

- socio-cultural phenomenon, 32
see also Court
 Dowry, 82, 139
- ECONOMIC DISTRESS, 66
 insecurity, 65, 66-7, 78, 92
 Economic 'woman', 7
 Education
 among the females, 13
 and desertion, 77
 as an important criterion in rating
 marital adjustment, satisfaction
 and happiness, 39
 of couples as seen from Court
 records, 38-9
 of couples as seen from agency
 cases, 38
 disparity, 41
 general, 191
 sex, 103, 128-30, 133, 191
 Employment and underemployment,
 11
 Bombay Survey on, 11-12
 opportunities for women, 14
 Engagement, 136, 139-41
 breaking of an, 141, 144-5 147-8
 Evolution,
 human, 182
 biological, 182-3
- FAMILY, 94, 172-3
 discord in extended, 79
 extended, 19, 56-7, 80, 82
 joint, 19, 57, 57, 80, 160-5
 nuclear, 19, 160, 165
 planning, 12-13, 172-3, 190
 problems facing, the, 185-6
 structure of the, 56
 result of family instability, 196
 Financial difficulties, 74
 Frigidity, *see* Sex
 Fuller and Mayer
 distinction between ameliorative
 and moral problems, 22
- GUIDANCE SERVICES,
 organizational pattern for, *see*
 Bureau
- HEALTH, 67, 203
- ILL TREATMENT by husband and
 family members, 65, 67, 75, 79,
 82-3, 86
 by in-laws, 80-2
 Immigrants, influx of, 11
 Impotency, 61, 80
 selective, 87
 Incompatibility, 72
 India
 acts which furthered the woman's
 movement in, 16
 article 38 of the *Constitution* of,
 9
 article 43 of the *Constitution* of,
 9
 directive principles in the *Constitu-*
 tion of, 5
 fundamental rights in the
 Constitution of, 239
 studies in the field of marriage
 and family in, 6
 women in, 13
 Indian
 Christian Marriage Bill, 15
 Penal Code, 15
 problems of, family life, 7
 Infidelity, 65, 66, 73, 74, 92
 In-laws *see* Family extended
 Institution and Institutional, *see*
 Agency and Bapnu Ghar
 International Federation,
 convention of, of women lawyers,
 243
 of parent education, 244, 245
- JUNG, C. G., 24
- LEGISLATION, 9, 23
 and position of the women, 16
 constitution and, 9
 emancipation of women and,
 13, 14, 23
 matrimonial, 172-3
 progress of, 20
 tenancy, 9
 women's right to property and, 16

- Living conditions, 67, 75, 93
- MARGINAL MAN, 122
- Marriage, 101-2
 civil form, 16-20
 conflict between religious form of, 18
 for happiness, 179-81
 inter-caste, 18, 156-60, 189
 inter-communal, 18-9, 91, 156-60, 189
 maladjustment in, 30
 on the horizon, 101-5
 preparation for, 192
 solemnization of, 17
 studies in the field of, 6
 under trial, 29
- Marriage Counselling, *see* Counselling
- Marriages
 arranged, 20
 choice of a partner in, 137
 consideration which influenced selection of partner, 144-8
 love, 19, 188
 record maintained by Registrar of, 17
 registered, 18
 solemnization of, 17
 philosophy, nature and purpose of 173-4
- Mate-selection, 136-7, 143-4
- Mode of selection, 137-8
- Muslim Personal Law, 15
- OCCUPATION, 41
 relation of, marital adjustment, 41
- Occupational mobility, 200
- Occupational personality, 41
- PERSONAL DEFECTS, 65, 66-7, 89
- Personality traits, 69
- Physical defects, 69, 72
- Population
 increase in, 10
 movement of, 11
 standard of living and, 12
- Post-marital Counselling, *see* Counselling,
- Pre-marital
 courtship, 155
 education, 192
 examination, 192
 instruction, 188, 190, 194
 preparation, 190, 192
 sex activity, 153, 154
 sphere, 190
- Pre-marital Counselling, *see* Counselling
- Puberty, 187
- QUESTIONNAIRE, the, 103, 104
 respondents to the, 106-7; *see* Students and Non-students
- RADHAKRISHNAN, S.
 on the Hindu way of life, 23-4
 religious tradition in India, 24
- Referral
 sources of, 232
- Respondents, *see* Students and Non-students
- SETALVAD, M. C., 245
- Sex, 67, 88, 86-7
 and marriage, discussion, 125, 126
 difficulties, 67-8, 88
 relations, pre-marital, 153-4
 factor, 84-5
 education, 103, 128-30, 133, 189, 191
 pre-marital, activity, 153
- Sex discussion, 122-3
- Social problems, 4-5, 58
- Social welfare, 4
- Social workers, 21
- Spencer, H.
 distinction between science and art, 3
- Students and Non-Students age distribution of, 107
 attitude to marriage, 167, 168
 attitude to nuclear and joint family, 161-4

attitude to pre-marital relations,
153-5
area of problems of, 165-7
belief in family planning, 171-2
consideration in influencing
selection of marriage partner,
142
determining choice of a partner
in marriage, 137
discussion on matters of sex
by, 125, 127
discussion on sex and home
environment, 122-6
educational level of, 108
educational and occupational
status of, 114-18
engagement, 139-41
home environment of, 120-1
inter-caste and inter-communitat
marriage, 156, 160
marital happiness of parents, 118
marital status of parents of, 118
mode of selection of partner,
137-8
nature of sex education imparted
to, 129
opinion of marriage, 171
opinion to present legislation,
in respect of marriage and
divorce, 173

occupation of, 110
period of courtship desirable by,
171-2
philosophy of marriage, nature
and purpose, 173-4
preparation for marriage, 128
religion of, 110, 214
religious rights and ceremonies
as conducive to a happy mar-
riage, 168-9
selection of marriage partner,
142-4
solemnization of marriage
desired by, 170-9
sources from which knowledge
on sex and marriage obtained,
130-3

URBANIZATION, 8
its impact on family, 219
problems of, 12

VICES, 66, 69, 91

YOUTH, 106, 186
conflict in, 245
marginal, repercussion of changes
on, 20
revolt of, 244
at the threshold of marriage, 190

বলা হইয়াছে, “শালিধানের চিড়ে নয়রে বিল্লিধানের খই।” যেন ঘটনার সত্য সম্বন্ধে তিলমাত্র স্থলন হইবার জো নাই। অথচ এই সংশোধনের দ্বারা বর্ণিত কলাহারের যে খুব একটা ইতর বিশেষ হইয়াছে, জামাই আদর সম্পর্কে শম্ভুর বাড়ীর গৌরব খুব উজ্জলতর রূপে পরিস্ফুট হইয়া উঠিয়াছে, তাহাও বলিতে পারি না; কিন্তু এ ক্ষেত্রে শম্ভুর বাড়ীর মর্যাদা অপেক্ষা সত্যের মর্যাদা রক্ষার প্রতি কবির অধিক লক্ষ্য দেখা যাইতেছে। তাও ঠিক বলিতে পারি না। বোধ করি ইহাও স্বপ্নের মতো। বোধ করি শালিধানের চিঁড়া দেখিতে দেখিতে বিল্লি ধানের খই হইয়া উঠিয়াছে। বোধ করি শিবঠাকুরও কখন এমনি করিয়া শিবু সদাগরে পরিণত হইয়াছে, কেহ বলিতে পারে না।’ (‘রবীন্দ্র-রচনাবলী’
ঐ, পৃ: ৫৮৫)

শিব ঠাকুর যে এই ছড়ায় শিব সদাগর হইয়াছেন, এ কথা সত্য। কারণ, বাংলার প্রাচীন যুগের বাণিজ্য-কেন্দ্রিক সমাজের উপরই লোক-সাহিত্যের ভিত্তি স্থাপিত হইয়াছিল; সেইজন্ত ক্ষত্রিয় রাজা এবং ব্রাহ্মণ ঠাকুর অপেক্ষা বৈষ্ণব সদাগরই বাংলার লোক-সাহিত্য এবং মঙ্গলকাব্য প্রভৃতির নায়ক। এখানেও সেই সূত্রেই শিবঠাকুর অতি সহজেই শিব সদাগর হইয়াছেন। তারপর ছড়ার মধ্যে সত্যের মর্যাদা রক্ষা করিবার উপর কবির লক্ষ্য আদৌ থাকে না, সেইজন্ত রবীন্দ্রনাথ যে অনুমান করিয়াছেন, অর্থাৎ শালিধানের চিঁড়ার বিল্লি ধানের খইতে রূপান্তর তাহা ‘স্বপ্নের মতো’, ইহা সত্য। কারণ, প্রকৃতপক্ষে এখানে শালিধানও নাই, বিল্লি ধানও নাই, এমন কি, শিব সদাগর নামক কোনও ব্যক্তিও নাই। বাহা আছে, তাহা স্বপ্ন ও ছায়ামাত্র। সেইজন্ত অতি সহজেই ইহাদের রূপান্তর সম্ভব হইয়া থাকে। এই ছড়াটির আরও কয়েকটি পাঠান্তর পাওয়া যায়—

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এ পার গন্ধা ও পার গন্ধা তার মাইদে চর,

সেইখানেতে বস্তা আছেন শিব সদাগর।

শিব গ্যালেন শম্ভুর বাড়ী বইসতে দিলো পিড়া,

জলপান করিতে দিলো শালিধানের চিড়া।